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Charles Fairfax

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Charles Fairfax

Fairfax

Jt solo non can trace

Non bene conveniunt nec in una

sede morantur

AD.999

Gregorie ye 5th tooke away from

the Romans ye creation of ye Emperor

& gaue it to 6 German Princes

3 Bishops Mentz, Trier and

Colne & 3 temporall Princes

Brandeburgh ye Palatinate and

Saxony

'Tis I alone can teach you to make warre.
I know what greatest Conquerrers knew, & are
I find the Brests of greatest Potentates
Give them Lawes to governe their Estat

VV.G.32 1241

THE FLORENTINE HISTORY IN VIII. Books.

36585 ac
VV.G.31

Written by

NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL

Citizen and Secretary of *Florence.*

1492. 36585

Now exactly Translated from the *Italian.*

LONDON,

Printed for *Charles Harper*, and *John Amery*, and by them sold at the *Flower de Luce*, and at the *Peacock*, both against S. *Dunstans* Church in *Fleet-street.* 1674.

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TO THE

Moſt ILLUSTRIOUS

Prince

JAMES

DUKE of

MONMOUTH, &c.

May it pleaſe your GRACE,

THis Hiſtory has been in all times ſo univerſally famous, and the Author of ſo great Reputation, that if it hath eſcaped (as I hope it has) any abuſe of mine in the Tranſlation,

there needs no farther Apology be made for it; and I am diſcharged from that part of the Task, uſually required in Dedications; and that other new mode of making addreſſes of this kind, ſeem rather Panegyricks to the Patron, than relate to the matter in hand, I may more juſtly wave, having aſpired to lay my Endeavours at the feet of ſo Illuſtrious a Prince; nothing by me to be ſaid or invented, can add the leaſt grain to the weight of your Renown and Reputation.

And though this Hiſtory may in ſome meaſure ſeem unſuitable to your Grace, whoſe innate Bra-

very

very in the Field, may be apt to contemn the Cowardiſe of the times here treated of: yet it may not be altogether unpleaſant to obſerve the Policies, Devices and Stratagems, wherewith theſe Princes and Common-wealths endeavoured to compaſs the ends they could not by force or valour attain to, which are here ſo plainly and faithfully deſcribed, that they may well ſerve as ſo many Land-marks to avoid the Rocks of Deceit, and ſo far prove uſeful to the moſt Gallant Prince alive.

But far be it from me to attempt the informing your Graces

Judgment, which has been enlightned by so many great and glorious Experiences. I must of all your Princely Vertues have recourse only to your Clemency, hoping, that (with the worth of the Author) will procure mine a favourable acceptance, and plead a pardon for this confident Addres made by

Your GRACE'S

Most Humble and most

Obedient Servant.

THE PROEM

Writen by the Author,

Nicholas Machiavel

To his

Florentine Hiſtory

I Had once an intention, when firſt I deſigned to write the Florentine *affairs both within and without the City, to begin my Narration from the year* 1434, *at which time the Family of the* Medici, *by the great deſerts of* Coſmo *and* John *his Father, aſpired to more authority than any other in* Florence: *for I thought all actions before that time had been particularly related by* Meſſer Leonard di Arrezzo, *and* Meſſer Poggio, *two moſt Excellent Hiſtorians.*

ans. But after a diligent peruſal of their works, in order to obſerve their way and method; and by imitating them render this Hiſtory more pleaſant to the Reader. I perceive that in writing the Florentine *tranſactions, with* Forreign Princes, *and people they had been very exact; but in civil diſcords and intrinſick diſſentions (and the cauſes from whence they ſprung) they had in one part been quite ſilent, and in the other ſo brief, that the Reader could reap neither pleaſure nor profit: which I imagine they did either, becauſe they thought thoſe actions ſo inconſiderable, that they were unworthy to be committed to memory, or elſe out of fear of offending thoſe deſcended from them, of whom they were to diſcourſe, who by the relating them, might perhaps be juſtly ſcandalized: Both which reaſons (with reſpect be it ſpoken) appear unworthy of Noble Spirits; for if of*

thing

ng teaches or delights in a Hiſtory, it is the particular deſcription of things; and if any reading be profitable to Citi[illegible] that govern a Common-wealth, it is that which ſets down the reaſon of animoſities and diviſions in their City, that growing wiſe by others damage, they may preſerve themſelves united. For if any examples have power over us, thoſe certainly of our own Common-wealth have the greateſt, and do likewiſe more redound to our advantage. And if any Republick *fell into remarkable diviſions, thoſe of* Florence *are moſt notable, for moſt other Common-wealths we have any knowledge of, have been content with one diviſion, whereby according to accidents they have either added to, or ruined their City. But* Florence *not content with one, has run into many. In* Rome *(as is notoriouſly known) after their Kings were expelled, there happened a diſunion be-*

tween

tween the Nobles and Plebeians, *which continued till their ruine. So* Athens, *and ſo all other Common-wealths which in that time flouriſhed. But in* Florence *there firſt happened diviſion between the Nobles themſelves, then between the Nobles and the People, then among the People and* Plebeians, *and whenever any of theſe parties got the upperhand, then they divided among themſelves: which diviſions cauſed ſo many executions, baniſhments and ruine of Families, as are not recorded to have ever happened in any other City. And in truth, in my judgement there need no better argument of the power of our City, than what may be deduced from theſe diviſions, which were capable to annihilate the greateſt and moſt populous City: Yet ours ſeem'd ſtill to increaſe, ſuch was the virtue of thoſe Citizens, and the prevaillency of their judgement and valour to aggrandi-*

them-

themſelves and their City, that they who remained untainted, could by their virtue more exalt it than the malignity of thoſe accidents, which would have diminiſhed any other, could oppreſs it. And doubtleſs had Florence *been ſo happy when it firſt ſhook of the Yoak of Empire to have eſtabliſhed ſuch a form of Government, as might have maintained it united. I know no Commonwealth, either Ancient or Modern, would have been ſuperiour or equal to it in arms or induſtry. For it is remarkable that after they had driven out the* Ghibellines *in ſuch multitudes, that* Tuſcany *and* Lombardy *ſwarmed with them, the* Guelfs *and thoſe which remained in the City, in that war againſt* Arezzo, *a year before the battail of* Campaldino, *raiſed of their own Citizens twelve hundred men at Arms, and twelve thouſand foot; and afterwards in the War againſt* Phillip Viſconti

Viſconti *Duke of* Milan, *when they were to follow their induſtry, and not make uſe of their own Arms (for their men were conſumed) they ſpent* [illegible] *years, which that war laſted* 3500000 *Florens, and yet when that war was ended (not content with peace) to boaſt the power and riches of their City, they went and beſieged* Lucca. *I cannot therefore imagine why any ſhould think theſe diviſions deſerve not a particular deſcription, and if thoſe noble Authors were reſtrained by the fear they had of offending the memory of thoſe they were to diſcourſe of, they were much miſtaken, and appear not to have perfectly underſtood the ambition of men, and the deſire they have to perpetuate their own and their Anceſtors names, not remembring that many not having the means to acquire fame by any good or glorious actions, have ſet their wits on work to gain*

gain it by wicked and facinorous exploits, nor considering that actions that have grandeur in themselves (as all matters of State and Government have) however they are acted, or whatever success they have, bring men more honour than blame. Upon consideration of which things I changed my design, and resolved to begin my History from the Original of our City. But because I have no intent to invade any other mans Province, I shall make a particular description until the year 1434, *of such things only as have happened within the City, saying no more of affairs without than what is necessary for the better understanding of those within, and after* 1434, *I shall particularly describe both one and the other: And moreover to the end, this History may the better in all times be understood, I shall set down by what means* Italy *came under those Potentates which then governed,*

all

all which things as well Italian *as* Florentine *will be compriſed in four Books. The firſt briefly relating all the accidents of* Italy, *from the declination of the* Roman *Empire, to the year* 1434, *the ſecond beginning from the Original of the City, ſhall continue till the war with the Pope after the driving out the Duke of* Athens. *The third ſhall end with the year* 1434, *and the death of* Ladiſlaus, *King of* Naples, *where the fourth beginning we ſhall from that time to this preſent, particularly deſcribe all things that have happened, both within the City of* Florence *and without.*

THE Florentine History In eight BOOKS.

Written by

NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL.

BOOK I.

THE people inhabiting the Regions Northwards from the rivers *Rhyne* and *Danube*, living in a healthful clime and apt for Generation, oft-times increase to such vast multitudes, that part of them are constrained to forsake their Native Conntry, and seek new places to dwell in. The Order observed when any of these Provinces would disburden themselves of their inhabitants is to divide into three parts, disposing things so, that each part have its equal number of Nobili-

How the Northern people eased themselves of their multitudes.

tie and Commons, of rich and poor. Then, that part to whose lot it falls, goes to seek its fortune, and the others (eased of one third) sit down, and enjoy their native soil. These people were they, who destroyed the *Roman* Empire, to which the Emperors themselves contributed much to by forsaking *Rome*, the ancient seat of the Empire, and setling themselves at *Constantinople*, did extremely weaken that part of the western Empire, as well for want of their care and observance, as by exposing it to the rapines both of its own Ministers and their Enemies. And indeed the ruine of such an Empire founded upon the blood of so many valiant men could never have been effected, where there had been less neglect in the Princes, less treachery in their Ministers, or less power and obstinacy in the assailors; for not one people alone, but many were they conspired to this ruine. The first, that (after the *Cimbrians* overcome by *Marius*) came from those northern parts, to infest the *Roman* Empire were the *Visigoths*, or in plain English the Western *Goths*. Who after some skirmishes on the Confines of the Empire, did by Grant from the Emperors, for a long time keep their station on the banks of the *Danube*, and though at divers times, and upon divers occasions they assailed the *Roman Provinces*, yet they were always by the Imperial powers repulsed, and at last gloriously vanquished by *Theodosius*: so that reduced

The cause of the destruction of the Roman Empire.

The visigoths infest the Empire:

Overcome by *Theodosius*.

reduced under his obedience, they made no more a King over themselves, but contented with the stipend allowed them, lived and made war, under his Ensigns and command. But *Theodosius* dying, and leaving his two sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius* heirs to his Empire, but neither to his valour nor fortune, the times were changed with the Prince. *Theodosius* had committed the charge of the Empire to three Governours, giving *Ruffinus* the Lieutenancy of the East, *Stilicon* that of the West, and to *Gildon Affrica*: all which after the decease of the Emperour, sought not how to govern like faithful Ministers, but how to possess (like Princes,) those parts left them in charge. The designs of *Gildon* and *Ruffinus* were crush'd in the very egg; but *Stilicon* who knew better how to dissemble his intents, sought to gain a confidence with the young Emperours, and in the mean while so embroiled their estates, that he might with more ease afterwards seise them. To make therefore the *Visigoths* their enemies, he councelled them no more to give them their usual stipend. And not thinking them sufficient of themselves to disturb the Empire, he contrived things so, that the *Burgundians*, *Franks*, *Vandals* and *Alans*, all Northern people, and ready to remove their habitations, should assail the Roman Provinces. The *Visigoths* deprived of their wonted provision, to put themselves in a better posture

Attempts of *Gildon*, *Ruffinus* and *Stilicon*.

Alaric King of the *Visigoths*.

of revenging such an injury, created *Alaric* their King, and turning their Forces upon the Empire after various accidents, having spoiled all *Italy*, took and sack'd *Rome*. In the height of victories *Alaric* dyes, and *Autaulphus* succeeds him, who takes to wife *Placidia*, sister to the Emperours, and upon that alliance enters into league with them to relieve *France* and *Spain*, which Provinces, the *Vandals*, *Burgundians*, *Alans* and *Franks* (upon the encouragements above mentioned) had invaded. The Issue of which was, that the *Vandals* who had possessed themselves of that part of of *Spain* called *Betica*, being vigorously assaulted by the *Visigoths*, and almost despairing of any relief, were by *Boniface*, then Lieutenant of *Africa*, invited over to possess that Province; for having himself turn'd Rebel, he was fearful, least his treasons should be discovered to the Emperours. These motives easily encouraged the *Vandals* to undertake the enterprize, who under the Command of *Genseric* their King, made themselves Lords of *Africk*. Mean while *Theodosius* son to *Arcadius* succeeded to the Empire, who having but small regard of the Western affairs, gave opportunity to the Northern people to settle themselves in their conquests. Thus the *Vandals* began to Lord it in *Africa*, and the *Alans* and *Visigoths* in *Spain*, and the *Franks* and *Burgundians* not only seized upon *Gaule*, but gave names to the several parts by them possessed

Sacks *Rome*, and dyes, and *Autaulphus* succeeded.

Vandals possesse *Africk*.

Alanes and *Visigoths* *Spain*. *Franks* and *Burgundians* *Gaul*.

poſſeſſed, whence one was called *France* and the other *Burgundy*. Theſe happy ſucceſſes moved more people to attempt the deſtruction of the Empire, and another nation called *Hunns*, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Pannonia*, a Province lying juſt on this ſide the *Danube*, which from them has ever ſince born the name of *Hungary*. And it happened as an addition to theſe diſorders that the Emperour ſeeing himſelf beſet on all ſides (was forced, to leſſen the number of his enemies) ſometimes to make peace with the *Vandals*, ſometimes with the *Franks*, whereby the barbarous nations grew ſtill more powerful, and the glory of the Empire decreaſed; nor was the Iſland of *Britain* (now called *England*) ſecure in this general calamity, for the *Britains* affraid of thoſe people who had poſſeſſed themſelves of *France*, and ſeeing no way how the Emperour could defend them, called to their aſſiſtance the *Angli*, a people of *Germany*. Theſe *Angli* under their King *Vortiger* undertook the affair, and having firſt defended them, ſoon after drove them out of the Iſland, placing themſelves there, and from their own name calling it *England*, whoſe old inhabitants thus driven from their native ſoil, grew deſperate, and though they could not defend their own Countrey, reſolved to ſeiſe upon another; To which end with all their families they paſſed over that Sea now called the Channel, and poſſeſſing themſelves of thoſe Countries next

Hunns enter *Pannonia*.

Britains call in the *Saxons*;

Who ſeize their Land

And they poſſeſs themſelves of *Britany*.

the oppoſite ſhore, called them after their own name *Britany*. The *Hunns* who as we ſaid before had ſeated themſelves in *Pannonia*, confederating with other people, called *Zepides*, *Erules*, *Turingians*, and *Oſtrogoths* (as in their language they call the Eaſtern *Goths*) determined to ſeek new Habitations. And finding no entrance into *France* already defended by the barbarous people, marched into *Italy* under *Attila* their King, who ſome time before to ingroſs to himſelf the whole Soveraignty, had put to death his Brother *Bleda*, thereby becoming ſo powerful that *Andaric* King of the *Zepides*, and *Velamir* King of the *Oſtrogoths* did him homage. At his arrival in *Italy*, *Attila* beſieges *Aquilegia*, before which he lay two whole years without any moleſtation, and whileſt he was in that leaguer, deſtroyed the whole Countrey about it, diſperſing all its inhabitants, which gave the firſt beginnings (as ſhall in due time be told) to the City of *Venice*. After the taking and deſtroying *Aquilegia*, and many other Cities, he turned his forces towards *Rome*, the ſpoil of which he forbore, at the earneſt prayers of the Pope, to which he paid ſuch reverence and reſpect, that leaving *Italy*, he returned into *Auſtria* and there dyed. After his deceaſe, *Velamir* King of the *Oſtrogoths* with the chief of the other nations took arms againſt *Tenric* and *Euries* his ſons, and killing one, forced the other with his *Hunns* to repaſs the

Attila invades *Italy*;

Beſieges *Aquilegia*.

Attila dyeth.

Danubi

Danube, and return into their own Countrey; the *Ostrogoths* & *Zepides* seating themselves in *Pannonia* and the *Herules* and *Turingians* on the farther bank of the *Danube*; *Attila* having left *Italy*, *Valentinian* the Emperour of the West endeavoured to restore it to the Empire; and the more conveniently to defend it from the Barbarian's power, forsakes *Rome*, and makes *Ravenna* his seat. These Calamities were the occasion that the Emperours who resided at *Constantinople*, had many times granted the possession of it to others, as a thing full of hazard and expence, and the *Romans* had as often, without his permission (seeing themselves abandoned) either of themselves created an Emperour to defend them, or some person of Authority amongst them had usurped that dignity. As at this time *Maximus* the Roman happened to do after *Valentinian*'s death, forcing moreover *Eudoxia* that had been his Wife, to marry him: who impatient to revenge such an injury, and not enduring to submit to the marriage of a private Citizen, being her self born of Imperial blood, secretly encourages *Genserio* King of the *Vandals*, and now Lord of *Africa* to invade *Italy*: shewing him both the easiness and advantage of the Conquest. He enticed with the hopes of Prey, soon comes, and finding *Rome* forsaken, sacks it, and stays in it fourteen days; he takes and pillages likewise many Towns in *Italy*; and having loaded himself and his Army with

Valentinian makes *Ravenna* the Imperial Seat.

Maximus usurps the Empire.

Genseric invited into *Italy* by *Eudoxia*.

Sacks *Rome*.

plunder returns into *Affrica*: the *Romans* again returned to *Rome*; and *Maximus* dead, they create *Avita* a *Roman*, Emperour. In longer proceſs of time, and after various accidents in *Italy* and abroad, and the death of ſeveral Emperours, the Empire of *Conſtantinople* fell to *Zenon*, and that of *Rome* to *Oreſtes*, and *Auguſtulus* his ſon, who by cunning had ſeized the Empire: and whilſt he deſigned to maintain it by force, the *Erules* and *Turingians* (who as I ſaid before, had ſeated themſelves on the farther ſide of the *Danube*) uniting under *Odoacer* their Captain, came into *Italy*, and into the places by them deſerted, entred the *Lombards* (a Northern people likewiſe) under the Conduct of *Godolius* their King who became (as in due time ſhall be ſaid) the laſt Plague of *Italy*. *Odoacer* thus come into *Italy*, overcame and ſlew *Oreſtes* near to *Pavia*, and *Auguſtulus* fled. After this Victory, that *Rome* might feel a change of Title as well as Maſter, *Odoacer* forbearing the title of Emperour, cauſes himſelf to be ſtiled King of *Rome*, and was the firſt of the *Cheiſes* of thoſe people now running up and down the World to ſeek habitations, that ſetled in *Italy*, for all the others either out of fear that they could not hold it (ſuccour from the Eaſtern Empire being ſo near at hand) or for ſome other hidden cauſe had only plundered it, and ſought ſome other place of Reſidence. Upon the whole, the ancient *Roman* Empire was in theſe times reduced under theſe Princes. *Ze-*

Zenon Emperour of the Eaſt.

Odoacer invades *Italy*

makes himſelf King of *Rome*.

The State of the *Roman* Empire in theſe times.

non

non who reigned in *Conſtantinople*, commanded the whole Eaſtern Empire, the *Oſtrogoths* were Lords of *Miſia* and *Pannonia*. The *Viſigoths*, *Sweues* and *Alanes* held *Gaſcony* and *Spain*; the *Vandals*, *Africa*; the *Franks* and *Burgundians*, *France*; and the *Herules* and *Turingians*, *Italy*. The Kingdom of the *Oſtrogoths* was now deſcended to *Theodoric* Nephew of *Velamir*; who, being in league with *Zenon* Emperour of the Eaſt, ſent him word that his *Oſtrogoths* thought it hard meaſure, that they, who were ſuperiour to all other people in Valour, ſhould be inferiour in Empire; and that it was impoſſible for him, to reſtrain them within the bounds of *Pannonia*: therefore, ſince he was neceſſitated to let them take Arms, and ſeek new abodes, he thought fit firſt to acquaint him with it, to the end he might provide for them by granting them peaceably ſome Territories, where with his good favour, they might live more happily and commodiouſly. Whereupon *Zenon* partly for fear, and partly out of a deſire to drive *Odoacer* out of *Italy*, gave *Theodoric* leave to march againſt him, and take poſſeſſion of *Italy*. Who, ſoon departing from *Pannonia* (where he left the *Zepides*, a people his allyes) and coming into *Italy*, he kills *Odoacer* and his Son; and after his Example, takes the Title of King of *Italy*, chooſing *Ravenna* for his Seat, out of the ſame motives which had formerly perſwaded *Valentinian* to reſide there. *Theodoric* was a man both

Theodoric King of the *Oſtrogoths*

has the Emperours leave to march into *Italy*.

makes himſelf King of it.

both in war and peace moſt excellent; for in the one he was always Conqueror, and in the other a great Benefactor to his Cities and People; he diſtributed his *Oſtrogoths* with their Captains throughout the Countrey, to the end that in war they might command them, and in peace govern them. He enlarged *Ravenna*, reſtored *Rome*, and except military Diſcipline admitted the *Romans* to all dergees of Honour, he kept within their bounds (and that without any tumult of war, but by his ſole authority) all thoſe barbarous Kings who had ſhared the Empire, he built Towns and Fortreſſes between the point of the *Adriatick* Sea, and the *Alps*, the more eaſily to impeach the paſſage of any new Barbarians that might come to infeſt *Italy*. And had not ſo many virtues been towards his later end ſullyed with ſome cruelty, occaſioned by jealouſie of State;) which the deaths of *Simmachus* and *Boetius* two holy men are teſtimonies of) his memory had in all points been worthy of renown and honour; for by his virtue and goodneſs, not only *Rome* and *Italy*, but all other parts of the Weſtern Empire (freed from the continual embroils of war, which for ſo long a term of years they had undergone by reaſon of the inundations of ſo many barbarous nations) were relieved and reduced unto good order and happy eſtate. And certainly if any times may be termed miſerable in *Italy*, or in thoſe Provinces overrun

ruin by the *Barbariams*, they were thoſe which paſſed between the Reigns of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, and his, for if it be well conſidered what dammage it is to any Common-wealth or Kingdom to change its Prince or Government: not by any extrinſick force, but by civil diſcord, and how by little variations, Kingdoms and Commonwealths, though never ſo potent run to ruine: it will afterward be eaſie to conceive how much *Italy* and other *Roman* Provinces did in thoſe times ſuffer, which not only changed their Government, but their Laws, Cuſtoms, manner of Living, Religion, Language, Habit and names; each of which things aſunder (how much more then all together) are able to make the moſt reſolute heart (that ſhall but think of them without either ſeeing or enduring them) to tremble. From hence ſprung the ruine and the riſe, the fall and increaſe of many Cities. Among thoſe that were ruined were *Aquileia*, *Luni*, *Chiuſi*, *Popolonia*, *Fieſole* and many others, among thoſe were new-built were *Venice*, *Siena*, *Ferrara* and *Aquila*, and many other Towns and Caſtles, which for brevity ſake, I omit. Thoſe which from ſmall ones grew great, were *Florence*, *Genoua*, *Piſa*, *Milan*, *Naples* and *Bolognia*, to which may be added the ruine and reſtoring of *Rome*, and many other Cities deſtroyed and rebuilt. Among theſe devaſtations, and this new people ſprung up new tongues, as is evident

The ſad Eſtate of *Italy*.

dent by the language now in uſe in *Spain*, *France* and *Italy*, which being a mixture of the native language of thoſe nations, with the ancient *Roman*, has begot a new Dialect of ſpeech. And beſides not only Provinces, have changed their names, but even Lakes, Rivers, Seas and men, *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy* being full of new names, quite different from the former; for example to omit many other, the *Po*, *Garda* and *Archipelago*, have names now utterly diſconſonant from what was given them by the ancients; men likewiſe from *Ceſar* and *Pompey* are come to be called *Peter*, *John* and *Matthew*, but of all theſe variations, the change of Religion was not of the leaſt moment, for the uſe and cuſtom of the ancient faith ingrafted in men, ſtrugling and ſtriving with the miracles of the new, moſt dreadful diſcords and tumults were raiſed amongſt all people, and certainly had the Chriſtian Religion been united the diſorders muſt have been much leſs, but whileſt the *Greek* Church, the *Roman*, and that at *Ravenna*, ſtrove againſt each other, and Hereticks beſides oppoſed the Catholick Doctrine, it ſadly diſturbed the whole world, witneſs *Africa*, which endured more calamities by the *Arrian* Sect, with whom the *Vandals* complyed, and believed in, then by either their avarice or natural cruelty. So that men living in ſuch a circle of perſecutions, bore in their eyes the terror of their hearts, for beſides the infi-

nite

nity miſeries they underwent, many knew not how to flye to the refuge of the Almighty, on whom all the diſtreſſed depend, for the greateſt part being doubtful to what God to have recourſe, deſpairing of all relief and ſuccour, miſerably dyed. *Theodoric* therefore deſerves no ſmall praiſe for having been the firſt, could give a ſtop to all theſe miſchiefs, inſomuch that in the eight and thirty years that he reigned in *Italy*. he reſtored it to ſuch ſplendor that its former deſolations were ſcarce perceivable. But he dead, and the Kingdom deſcended to *Atalaric* ſon of his daughter *Amalaſonta*, the perverſeneſs of fortune not yet quite allayd, *Italy* in a very ſhort time fell into the ſame plunge of misfortunes it had formerly groaned under. For *Atalaric* ſoon after his Grand-fathers death, and that the Government remained in his mother, was betrayed by *Theodatus*, who was called in by her to be her aſſiſtant in the Government of the Kingdom, he having ſlain her, made himſelf King, and by that means becoming odious to the *Oſtrogoths*, gave occaſion to the Emperour *Juſtinian*, to hope he might drive him out of *Italy*, to which end he deputes *Belliſarius* his General who had already ſubdued *Africa*, and either driven out the *Vandals*, or forced them to ſubmit. *Belliſarius* had all that time poſſeſſed himſelf of *Sicily*, from whence paſſing into *Italy*, he takes *Naples* and *Rome*. The *Goths* incenſed at theſe loſſes

Atalaric King of *Italy*;

Betrayed by *Theodatus*, who

Makes himſelf King

Belliſarius General for the Emperour.

Theodatus slain, and *Vitigetes* King

ſoſſes kill their King *Theodatus* whom they thought the occaſion of them, and in his place choſe *Vitigetes*, who after ſome ſtrug-lings was by *Belliſarius* beſieged in *Ravenna*,

Belliſarius recalled.

and taken; but ere *Belliſarius* could to the full purſue this victory he was recalled by *Juſtinian*; And *John*, and *Vitalis*, conſti-tuted in his ſtead, perſons quite different from the other, both in courage and con-duct. Whereupon the *Goths* taking heart, created *Ildovaldus*, then Governour of *Ve-rona* their King. After whom (for he

Totila King of the *Goths*;

was kill'd) came *Totila* to the Kingdom, who gave ſuch ſhocks to the forces of the Empire, that he recovered *Tuſcany*, and re-duced the Emperors Captains to the de-fence of the laſt caſt, of all that *Belliſarius* had recovered; which made *Juſtinian* re-ſolve to ſend him again into *Italy*, who returning but with ſlender forces, rather loſt that reputation he before had got, then gained any new. For *Totila* whileſt *Belli-ſarius* with his Army lay encamped at *Oſtia*,

Takes *Rome*

in the very face of him took *Rome*, but ſeeing he could neither ſafely hold, nor de-ſert it, he for the moſt part diſmantled it, driving out the people, and leading away the Senators Captive, and ſlighting *Belliſa-rius* marched into *Calabria* to meet thoſe forces that came to his recruit. *Belliſarius* ſeeing *Rome* thus deſerted, made an ho-nourable attempt, for entring the ruines of *Rome* with all imaginable celerity he began to rebuild the walls of it, and recall the inhabitants.

inhabitants. But fortune was averſe to this his noble enterprize, for *Juſtinian* being at that inſtant aſſailed by the *Parthians*, once more recalled him, and he in obedience to his Lord, deſerts *Italy*, leaving that Province to the diſcretion of *Totila*, who ſoon retakes *Rome*: but treated it not now with the former cruelty, for at the intreaty of S. *Benedict*, a man then in great reputation for his holineſs, he ſtrove rather to reſtore it. Mean while *Juſtinian* having made peace with the *Parthians*, deſigned to ſend a freſh Army to the relief of *Italy*, but was diverted by the Invaſions of the *Sclavonians*, a new Northern people, who having paſſed the *Danube*, were entered in *Illyria* and *Thracia*: ſo that *Totila* was in a manner the ſole poſſeſſor of *Italy*: but *Juſtinian* having overthrown the *Sclavonians*, ſends his Army thither under the command of *Narſetes* the Eunuch, a man moſt expert in war: who arriving in *Italy*, defeats and kills *Totila*, and whileſt the remaining *Goths* made their retreat to *Pavia*, creating there *Teja* their King, *Narſetes* poſſeſſes himſelf of *Rome*, and after marching towards *Teja*, fights him near *Nocera*, and overthrows and kills him. By which victory the very name of the *Goths* was extinct in *Italy*, who for about ſeventy years from *Theodorick* their firſt King, to *Teja*, had there Lorded it. No ſooner was *Italy*, freed from the *Goths* but *Juſtinian* dyed, leaving *Juſtin* his ſon his Succeſſor, who, counſelled

Beliſarius again recalled.

Narſetes ſent into *Italy*.

Juſtinians Death.

counſelled by his wife *Sophia* recalls *Narſetes* out of *Italy*, and ſends *Longinus* in his ſtead. *Longinus* followed the method others had done before, reſiding in *Ravenna*: but beſides that, he impoſed a new form of Government; not conſtituting Lieutenants of Provinces as the *Goths* had done, but making Chiefs of every important City under the Title of Dukes, And in theſe kind of diſtributions he honoured *Rome* no more than any other place; for taking away the Conſuls and Senate (which till that day had continued) he reduced it under the Command of a Duke; whom he yearly ſent from *Ravenna*, and called it the *Roman* Dutchy: and to the Emperours Lieutenant who governed all *Italy*, he gave the ſtile of *Exarch*. This diviſion much facilitated the ruine of *Italy*, and contributed to the *Lombards* poſſeſſing themſelves of it with the more celerity. *Narſetes* was highly incenſed againſt the Emperour for taking from him the Government of a Province he had conquered with his own Blood and Valour; & the more, becauſe *Sophia* not content with the injury of having made him be recalled, had added ſcornful and reproachful terms to it, giving out that ſhe would have him ſet to ſpin amongſt the other Eunucks. Inſomuch that *Narſetes*, ſwelling with rage and Indignation perſwades *Albonius* King of the *Lombards*, then reigning in *Pannonia*, to come and poſſeſs himſelf of *Italy*. The *Lombards* had, as we have ſaid before, ſeated themſelves

Dukes firſt in *Italy*.

Albonius King of the *Lombards*

themſelves in thoſe Territories on the banks of the *Danube*, deſerted by the *Herules* and *Turinians* when their King *Odoacer* led them into *Italy*; where, having ſome time reſided, and their Kingdom deſcending upon *Alboinus* a bold and warlike man, they paſſed the *Danube*, and encountring *Comundus* King of the *Lepides* then poſſeſſed of *Pannonia*, overthrew and ſlew him. Amongſt the Captives *Alboinus* finds *Roſamund* the Daughter of *Comundus*, and taking her to wife becomes Lord of *Pannonia*, but out of a bruitiſh fierceneſs in his nature, he makes a drinking cup of *Comundus*'s skull, and out of it uſed to carouſe in memory of that victory. Invited now by *Narſetes*, with whom he had been in league during the *Gothick* war, he leaves *Pannonia* to the *Huns*, who as we have ſaid, were after the death of *Attila* returned into their own Countrey, and comes into *Italy*, which finding ſo ſtrangely divided, he in an inſtant poſſeſſes himſelf of *Pavia*, *Milan*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, all *Tuſcany*, and the greateſt part of *Flaminia* at this day called *Romania*. • So that by theſe great and ſudden victories judging himſelf already Conquerour of *Italy*, he makes a ſolemn feaſt at *Verona*, and in the heat of wine growing merry, cauſes *Comundus*'s skull to be filled full of wine, and would needs have it preſented to Queen *Roſamund*, who ſate at table over againſt him, telling her ſo loud that all might hear, that in ſuch

Invited into *Italy* by *Narſetes*.

a time of mirth he would have her drink with her father; thoſe words were as ſo many darts in the poor Ladies bo[illegible]ome, and conſulting with revenge, ſhe bethought her ſelf, how *Almachildis* a noble *Lombard*, young and valiant; courted one of the Ladies of her bed-chamber, with her ſhe contrives, that ſhe ſhould promiſe *Almachildis*, the kindneſs of admitting him by night to her chamber; and *Almachildis* according to her aſſignation being received into a dark room, lyes with the Queen; whileſt he thought he lay with the Lady, who after the fact diſcovers herſelf, offering to his choice either the killing of *Alboinus*, and enjoying her and the Crown; or the being made his ſacrifice for defiling his bed. *Almachildis* conſents to kill *Alboinus*; but they ſeeing afterwards their deſigns of ſeizing the Kingdom prove unſucceſsful, nay rather fearing to be put to death by the *Lombards* (ſuch love bore they to *Alboinus*) they fled with all the Royal Treaſure to *Longinus* at *Ravenna*, who honourably received them. During theſe turmoils, *Juſtin* dyes, and *Tiberius* was made Emperour in his ſtead, who employed in the *Parthian* war could give no relief to *Italy*, which made *Longinus* think it a convenient time for him by means of *Roſamund* and her treaſure to make himſelf King of the *Lombards* and all *Italy*; he conſults with her about it, and perſwades her to kill *Almachildis*, and marry him, which ſhe accepting, prepares a cup of

Alboinus death.

poiſon

poyſon and with her own hand gives it *Almachildis*, as he came thirſty out of the Bath, who having drunk half of it, and finding it begin to work inwardly, ſuſpecting what it was, forces *Roſamund* to drink the reſt, ſo that in few hours both dyed; and *Longinus* loſt his hopes of being King. Mean while the *Lombards* aſſembling in *Pavia*, which they had made the principal ſeat of their Kingdom, choſe *Cleſis* King; who rebuilt *Imola* deſtroyed by *Narſetes*, took *Rimini*, and almoſt all the other Towns as far as *Rome*, but in this courſe of victory dies. This *Cleſis* was ſo cruel, not only to ſtrangers, but to his own *Lombards*, that they terrified with the regal power, would no more create a King, but made choice among themſelves of thirty Dukes or Captains to govern. The reſult of which determination was the cauſe that the *Lombards* never became maſters of all *Italy*, that their Dominions never reached farther than *Beneventum*, and that *Rome*, *Ravenna*, *Cremona*, *Mantua*, *Padua*, *Monſelice*, *Parma*. *Bolonia*, *Faenza*, *Furli* and *Ceſani* did many of them for a long time defend themſelves, and ſome of them never came under their Dominion, for the want of a King made them leſs apt for war, and when afterwards they did create one, the time they had been free had begot in them a humour of being leſs obedient, and more prone to diſorders among themſelves, which firſt put a ſtop to their victories, and

Cleſis King of the *Lombards*.

Thirty Dukes.

at length drove them out of *Italy*. The affairs of the *Lombards* being therefore in this condition, *Longinus* and the *Romans* made peace with them, upon the terms that both parties ſhould lay down Arms, and each poſſeſs what they held. About this time the Popes began to graſp a larger authority than ever they had done, for the firſt ſucceſſors of S. *Peter* beingreverenced by all men for their miracles and holy life, the Chriſtian Religion ſpread ſo far by their example that Princes were conſtrained (to avoid confuſion in the world) to yield obedience to it. The Emperour therefore being become Chriſtian, and having left *Rome*, and ſeated himſelf in *Conſtantinople*, it followed (as we have ſaid in the beginning) that the Empire fell to decay, and the Church of *Rome* did the more eaſily flouriſh. Notwithſtanding which, until the coming of the *Lombards* (whileſt all *Italy* was ſubject to the Emperour or Kings) the Popes never aſſumed any further authority, than what the Reverence paid to their Doctrine and Piety gave them; In all other things they ſubmitted either to the Emperour or King, and ſometimes were by them put to death, and as their Miniſters called to account for their actions. But that which made them gain a potency, and be looked upon as of ſome moment in the affairs of *Italy*, was *Theodorick* King of the *Goths* chooſing *Ravenna* for his ſeat; for *Rome* being left without a Prince, the *Romans*

The growth of the Popes Authority.

mans

mans for their refuge took occaſion to yield obedience to the Popes: yet by this means their authority increaſed not very much, only the Church of *Rome* obtained the precedency of that of *Ravenna*. But after the coming of the *Lombards*, *Italy* being divided into ſeveral parts, gave the Popes opportunity of becoming more brisk: for they being as it were the head of *Rome*, both the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* and the *Lombards* had ſo much reſpect for them, that the *Romans*, by means of the Popes, treated with, and made leagues with *Longinus* and the *Lombards*, not as Subjects but allyes. And thus the Popes ſometimes ſiding with the *Lombards*, and ſometimes with the *Greeks* increaſed their own power and dignity. And the ruine of the Eaſtern Empire ſucceeding (which happened about theſe times under *Heraclius* the Emperour, the *Sclavonians* before-mentioned again invading *Illiria*, and having maſtred it, calling it after their own name *Sclavonia*, and other parts of the Empire being firſt overrun by the *Perſians*, then by the *Saracens*, who under *Mahomet* broke out of *Arabia*, and laſtly by the *Turks*, *Syria*, *Africa* and *Egypt* being lop'd off from it) the Popes having no more that Empire (now grown ſo weak) to fly to for refuge, and on the other ſide the power of the *Lombards* dayly increaſing, they thought it high time to ſeek out new friends, and accordingly had recourſe to the Kings of *France* for ſup-

port. So that all the wars hereafter made by the *Barbarians* in *Italy* were at the Popes inſtigation, and all the Armies that infeſted it were for the moſt part called in by them, which courſe they have continued even to theſe very times. And this is it, has ſtill kept *Italy* weak and divided, therefore in diſcourſing things following, we ſhall not treat farther of the fall of the Empire, now quite laid on the ground, but of the growth of Papacy, and of thoſe other principalites, which had the rule of *Italy* from that time till the coming of *Charles* the Eighth, ſetting forth how Popes firſt by excomunication, and then by them and arms together grew at once to be terrible, and to be reverenced, and how by ill uſing both the one and the other, they have utterly loſt the firſt, and ſtand (as to the laſt) at others diſcretion. But to return to the matter in hand: *Gregory* the third coming to the Papacy, and *Aſtolphus* to the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, the laſt contrary to all agreements, ſeizes *Ravenna*, and makes war upon the Pope. Whereupon *Gregory* for the reaſons before recited, relying no longer upon the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* now ſo weakened, nor upon the faith of the *Lombards* ſo often violated, ſends for aid to *France* to King *Pepin* the Second, who from Lord of *Auſtria* and *Brabant* was become King of *France*, not ſo much by his own perſonal valour as that of his father *Charles Martel* and his Grandfather *Pepin*,

Aſtolphus King of *Lombardy* ſeizes *Ravenna*.

Pope *Gregory*. craves aid of *Pepin* King of *France*.

or

For *Charles Martel* being Regent of that Kingdom, gave that memorable defeat to the *Sarazens* near *Tours* on the river *Loire*, wherein above two hundred thouſand of them were ſlain, whereupon *Pepin* his ſon fortified with his fathers reputation, and his own virtue, became afterward King of that Countrey. To whom Pope *Gregory* (as we have ſaid) ſent for aid againſt the *Lombards*, which *Pepin* promiſed to ſend him, but deſired firſt to ſee him, and be honoured with his preſence. Wherefore *Gregory* went to *France*, paſſing through the Territories of the *Lombards* his enemies, without any ſtop or moleſtation, ſo much was the veneration then paid to Religion: *Gregory* coming into *France* was highly honoured by that King, and ſent back with an Army into *Italy*. who beſieged the *Lombards* in *Pavia*, whereupon *Aſtolphus* much ſtreightened, was forced to come to an agreement with the *French*; and they granted them peace at the *Popes* interceſſion, who would not have the death of his enemy, but rather that he ſhould be converted and live. But *Pepins* Forces once returned to *France*, *Aſtolphus* kept not the league, whereupon the Pope had again recourſe to King *Pepin*, who ſends a new Army into *Italy*, overthrows the *Lombards*, takes *Ravenna*, and againſt the mind and will of the *Greek* Emperour, gives it to the Pope, together with all the Lands belonging to that Exarchate, adding to them

Pope *Gregory* goes into *France*.

the Country of *Urbin*, and the Territory of *La Marca*. But *Aſtolphus* upon the conſigning over theſe Lands dyes, and *Deſiderius* a *Lombard* Duke of *Tuſcany* taks arms to ſeize the Kingdom, craving aid of the Pope, and promiſing him his friendſhip, who accepting the offer, granted his aſſiſtance, whereupon all the other Princes ſubmitted. And *Deſiderius* was at firſt faithful to his word, and perfected the conſignation of thoſe Lands to the Pope, according to the agreement made with King *Pepin*, nor came there any more Exarch from *Conſtantinople* to *Ravenna*, but it was governed at the Popes Arbitriment. *Pepin* ſoon after dyed, and his ſon *Charles* ſucceeded him, this was he who for his extraordinary feats of war was ſirnamed the Great, or *Charlemain*. In the mean time *Theodorus* ſucceeded in the Papacy, he fell at variance with *Deſiderius*, and was by him beſieged in *Rome*: whereupon the Pope had recourſe to *Charles* for ſuccour, who paſſing the *Alps*, beſieges *Deſiderius* in *Pavia*, and taking him and his children, ſends them priſoners into *France*, going himſelf forward to viſit the Pope at *Rome*, where he pronounced that the Pope being the Vicar of God, was not to be judged by man, and the Pope and people of *Rome* made him Emperour. And whereas the Emperours uſed to confirm the Popes, the Emperours now in their Election begun to ſtand in need of the Popes, and then came the Empire to looſe in point of Honour, and

Deſiderius gets the Kingdom of *Lombardy*.

Is with his children taken priſoner by *Charles* the Great.

Charles made Emperour;

And the Church to gain and increaſe, ſo that by degrees it's authority more and more increaſed over temporal Princes. The *Lombards* had now been two hundred twenty two years in *Italy*, and were reputed ſtrangers in nothing but in name. And *Charles* minded to regulate *Italy*, which was in the time of Pope *Leo* the Third, was content they ſhould dwell in the places where they were born, and called that Province after their name *Lombardy*. And becauſe they ſhould bear a Reverence to the *Roman* name, he would have all the adjoining Countrey once ſubject to the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, ſtiled *Romania*, beſides he created his ſon *Pepin* King of *Italy*, whoſe juriſdiction extended as far as *Beneventum*, and all the reſt belonged to the *Greek* Emperour, with whom *Charles* had entred into alliance. *Paſcal* the firſt was at this time advanced to the Papacy, and the Prieſts of the Church of *Rome* to have a nearer and cloſer correſpondence with the Pope, and to qualifie themſelves for electing him, to adorn their power with a more eminent title, began to call themſelves Cardinals, and arrogated ſo much to themſelves, eſpecially after having excluded the people of *Rome* from any voice in the election, that ſeldom was a Pope choſen out of their number; whereupon after the death of *Paſcal*, *Eugenius* the Second was created Pope from the Title of Cardinal of *Sancta Sabina*. And *Italy* (now fallen into the hands of the *French*)

Makes his ſon *Pepin* King of the *Romans*.

Firſt conſtitution of Cardinals.

Eugenius the ſecond Pope.

French) changed ſomewhat of its manners and cuſtoms. The Popes having aſſumed a ſupremacy in Temporalities, and the *French* having introduced the Titles of Earls and Marqueſſes, as *Longinus* Exarch of *Ravenna* did that of Dukes. After ſome Popes *Oſporco*, (or hogs mouth) was advanced to the Papacy, who becauſe of the bruitiſhneſs of his own name, took that of *Sergius* which gave original to the change of names ſince uſed by all Popes at their election. Mean while *Charles* the Emperour dyed, and *Lewis* his ſon ſucceeded in his ſtead, after whoſe deceaſe, aroſe ſuch difference among his children, that the Empire in the time of his Nephews, was ſnatch'd away from the houſe of *France*, and tranſported to the *Germans*, the firſt German Emperour being called *Ainulphus*. Nor did the family of *Charles* by their own diſcords only loſe the Empire, but likewiſe the Kingdom of *Italy*; for the *Lombards* taking courage ſo oppreſſed the *Pope* and *Romans*, that the Princes not knowing whither to fly for refuge, were neceſſitated to create *Berengarius* Duke of *Friuli* King. Theſe accidents encouraged the *Hunns*, who inhabited *Pannonia* to aſſail *Italy*, but loſing the Battle to *Berengarius*, they were by him forced to return into *Pannonia*, or rather into *Hungary*, for ſo was that Province from them now called. *Romanus* was at this time Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, having uſurped that Empire from *Conſtantine*,

When Popes firſt changed names.

Charles the Emperour dies, and *Lewis* ſucceeds.

Ainulphus the firſt German Emperour.

Berengarius King of *Italy*; Beats the *Hunns*.

Romanus Emperour of the Eaſt.

ſtantine, whoſe Admiral he had been: And becauſe upon that revolution, *Puglia* and *Calabria* which (as we have ſaid before) were ſubject to that Empire, had rebelled, enraged againſt them, he licenſed or permitted at leaſt the *Saracens* to invade thoſe Countreys, who once entred, not only poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe Provinces, but attempted the expugnation of *Rome*. But the *Romans* (ſince *Berengarius* was employed in their defence againſt the *Hunns*) made *Alberigo* Duke of *Tuſcany* their General, and by his valour and conduct ſaved *Rome* from the *Saracens*, who raiſing their Seige, planted themſelves in a Rock or Fortreſs upon mount *Gargano*, and there Lorded it over *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and oppreſſed the reſt of *Italy*. Thus ſadly was *Italy* in thoſe times afflicted; towards the *Alps* waſted by the *Huns*, and towards *Naples* by the *Saracens*. Long did it endure theſe pangs under three *Berengarius*'s ſucceſſively, during all which time the Pope and Church were ſorely diſtreſſed, not knowing whither to addreſs themſelves for relief, by reaſon of the diſſentions of the *Weſtern* Princes, and the weakneſs of the *Eaſtern* Empire. The City of *Genoua* and all that Coaſt were miſerably ruined by the *Saracens*, whence ſprung the firſt enlargement of *Piſa*, whither multitudes of people driven from their habitations fled. Theſe things happened in the year of Chriſt 931. But *Otho* the ſon of *Henry* and *Matilda*, and Duke of *Saxony*

Saracens invade Italy.

How *Piſa* grew great.

Saxony being choſen Emperour, a man of great prudence and reputation; *Agabitus* then Pope, beſought him to come into *Italy*, and deliver him from the Tyranny of the *Berengarius*'s. The Eſtates of *Italy* ſtood then in this poſture, *Lombardy* was under *Berengarius* the Third, and *Albertus* his ſon. *Tuſcany* and *Romania* were governed by a Lievtenant of the Emperour of the Weſt, *Puglia* & *Calabria* were partly ſubject to the *Eaſtern* Emperour, & partly to the *Saracens*. In *Rome* two of the Nobility were yearly created Conſuls, who governed according to the Ancient Cuſtom, having joyned with them a Tribune or Prefect of the People. They had a Council of xii, who yearly appointed Superintendents to the Towns under their charge. The Popes had in *Rome*, and in all *Italy* more or leſs authority acing as the Emperors, or thoſe moſt in power favoured them. *Otho* the Emperour came then into *Italy*, and deprived the *Berengarii* of that Kingdom they had enjoyed for fifty five years reſtoring the Pope to his Dignity. He had a ſon and a Grand-child both called likewiſe *Otho*, who one after the other ſucceeded him in the Empire. And in the time of *Otho* the Third, Pope *Gregory* the Fifth being expelled by the Romans, *Otho* comes into *Italy* and reſtores him. And the Pope to revenge himſelf on the *Romans*, took away their authority of creating the Emperour, and gave it to ſix Princes of *Germany*, three Biſhops *Mentz*;

Electors of the Empire appointed.

Mentz, *Triers* and *Cologne*, and three temporal Princes, *Brandenburgh*, the *Palatinate*, and *Saxony*. This was in the year 1002. After the death of *Otho* the Third, *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria* was by the Electors created Emperour, and twelve years afterwards, crowned by Pope *Stephen* the Eighth, both *Henry* and *Simeonda* his wife were persons of a holy life, which is apparent by the many Temples endowed and built by them; among which was the Church of S. *Miniate* near the City of *Florence*. *Henry* dyed *anno* 1024. to whom succeeded *Conradus* of *Swevia*, after him *Henry* the Second, he came to *Rome*, and there being a Schism in the Church of three Popes he put them all down and caused *Clement* the Second to be chosen. *Italy* was now governed partly by the people, and partly by the Princes, and partly by the Ministers of the Emperour; amongst whom the chief, and him whom all the rest had recourse to, was called Chancellour. The most potent among the Princes was *Godfrid*, and the Countess *Matilda* his Lady, daughter to *Beatrice*, sister to *Henry* the Second, she and her husband possessed *Lucca*, *Parma*, *Reggio* and *Mantua*, together with all that is now called the Patrimony of S. *Peter*. The ambition of the people of *Rome* was a sore thorn in the sides of the Popes, though they had formerly made use of the Popes power to rescue them from the Emperours; but after having got the rule of the

Henry Duke of *Bavaria* chosen.

Conradus of *Suevia*. *Henry* the Second.

the City, and reformed it according to pleaſure, they as ſuddenly became enemies to the Popes: and more injuries did they receive from that people, than from any other Chriſtian Prince. Nay in that very time that the Popes with their excommunications made all the Weſt tremble, did the people of *Rome* ſtand out in Rebellion, and the conteſt on either ſide was, who ſhould take away the others reputation and authority. To expreſs which *Nicolas* the Second, being advanced to the Papacy, as *Gregory* the Fifth had taken from the *Romans* the power of creating Emperours, ſo *Nicolas* deprived them of having any concurrence in the election of Popes, which he ordained ſhould belong to the Cardinals only. And not content with this, he made a compact with the Princes of *Calabria* and *Apulia*, upon terms we ſhall tell hereafter; by which he conſtrained all Officers ſent from the *Romans* throughout their juriſdiction, to pay their obedience to the Pope, and ſome of them he diſplaced. After the death of *Nicolas*, was a ſchiſm in the Church, for the Clergy of *Lombardy* would not ſubmit to *Alexander* the Second, elected at *Rome*, but choſe *Cadolus* of *Parma* Antipope. *Henry* who abhorred the power of the Popes, gave warning to *Alexander* to renounce the Papacy, and ſummon'd the Cardinals into *Germany* to chooſe a new pope. Whereby he became the firſt Prince that felt the anguiſh of ſpiritual wounds, for

Nicolas the Second, Pope.

Schiſm in the Church.

for the Pope called a new Council at *Rome*, and deprived *Henry* of his Crown and Empire. And ſome of the people of *Italy* ſided with the Pope, and ſome with *Henry*. And hence ſprung firſt up the faction of the *Guelfs* and the *Ghibelines*, ſo that *Italy* now at quiet from barbarous innundations begun to tear out its own Bowels. *Henry* thus excommunicated was forced by his own people to come into *Italy*, and bare-foot and bare-leg'd, on his knees ask'd the Pope pardon, which was done in the year 1080, and yet there happened a freſh conteſt between the Pope and *Henry*, whereupon the Pope again excommunicates him, and the Emperour ſent his ſon called likewiſe *Henry*, and by the help of the *Romans*, who hated the Pope, beſieged him in his Caſtle. Whereupon *Robert Guiſcard* advances out of *Puglia* to his relief, and *Henry* not ſtaying for him returns alone into *Germany*. The *Romans* continued ſtill obſtinate, whereupon *Rome* was again ſack'd by *Robert*, and reduced once more into thoſe heaps of ruines from whence ſo many Popes had before reſtored it. And becauſe from this *Robert* began the order of the Kingdom of *Naples*, it will not be ſuperfluous to give a conciſe narrative of his Actions and Nation. Thoſe diſcords which happened amongſt the Heirs of *Charlemain* (of which we have before ſpoken) gave encouragement to a Northern people called *Normans*, to invade *France*, and they poſſeſſed

Henry ſubmits to the Pope.

Is again excommunicate.

Robert Guiſcard firſt Founder of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

ſeſſed themſelves of that Countrey which at this day from them is called *Normandy*. Of theſe people ſome came into *Italy*, in the time that that Province was at once infeſted by the *Berengarii*, *Saracens* and *Hunns*, and poſſeſſing themſelves of ſome Lands in *Romania*, did during all thoſe turmoils valiantly maintain them. *Trancred* one of thoſe Norman Princes had ſeveral ſons, and among others *William* called *Ferabar*, and *Robert* ſirnamed *Guiſcard*, and the tumults of *Italy* were now in ſome meaſure ceaſed. Yet the *Saracens* held *Sicily*, and made dayly inroads on the Sea-coaſts of *Italy*. Whereupon *William* enters into a League with the Princes of *Capoua* and *Salernum*, and with *Melarchus* the *Greek*, that was the Emperous Lieutenant in *Puglia* and *Calabria*, to invade *Sicily*, and in caſe that they ſucceeded, it was agreed that each ſhould have a fourth part both of the ſpoil and of the Countrey. They had happy ſucceſs, and driving out the Saracens poſſeſſed themſelves of *Sicily*. But after the victory, *Melarchus* privily bringing in a ſtrong party of *Greeks*, takes poſſeſſion of the Iſland for the Emperour, and only divides the ſpoil; which mightily diſcontented *William*, but he ſmothered his reſentments, till he had a fitter opportunity, and came out of *Sicily* with the Princes of *Salernum* and *Capua*, but as ſoon as they had parted from him to go home, *William* returns not unto *Romania*, but turning aſide towards

towards *Puglia*, and preſently takes *Melfi*, and from thence in a ſhort time in deſpite of all the power of the *Greek* Emperour, makes himſelf Lord of all *Apulia* and *Calabria*, over which his brother *Robert Guiſcard* reigned in the time of Pope *Nicholas* the Second. And becauſe there happened ſome difference betwixt him and his Nephews about the inheritance of that State, he made uſe of the Popes authority to compoſe it; which the Pope willingly complyed with him in, deſirous to gain *Robert* to defend him againſt the *German* Emperours, and the inſolency of the people of *Rome*, which he afterwards did, when as we have before declared, he at the inſtance of *Gregory* the Eighth chaſed *Henry* from *Rome*, and tamed that people. To *Robert* ſucceeded *Roger* and *William* his ſons, to whoſe Dominion was joined *Naples* and all that Country between *Naples* and *Rome*, and afterwards *Sicily*, of which *Robert* made himſelf maſter, and after that again *William* going to *Conſtantinople* to marry the Emperours Daughter, *Roger* fell upon his Eſtates, and took them; heightned by which new acquiſts, he was the firſt of that line who made himſelf be called King of *Italy*: but afterward contenting himſelf with the title of King of *Puglia* and *Sicily*, he was the firſt gave name and beginning to that Kingdom, which is ſtill maintained within the antient limits, though it hath often

Roger and *William* ſons of *Robert Guiſcard*.

Roger firſt of that line King of *Italy*.

changed not only blood, but nation; for the *Norman* race decaying, that Kingdom fell to the *Germans*, then to the *French*, then to the *Arrogonians*, and is at present possessed by the *Flemmings*: *Urban* the Second was now come to the Papacy, who being hated in *Rome*, and not thinking himself safe in *Italy* by reason of its divisions, undertook a noble Design, and going into *France* with all his Clergy, and gathering together multitudes of people in *Antwerp*, by an Oration he made against the Infidels, he so stirred up the minds of men, that they determined that war against the *Saracens* in *Asia*, which enterprise and all other of like kind that afterwards happened were called *Croisado's*, because all that went, wore upon their arms, or upon their upper garments a red Cross. The heads of this undertaking were *Godfrey*, *Eustachius*, and *Adolvin* of *Bulloign*, Earls of *Bolonia*, and one *Peter* a Hermit much renowned for his piety and prudence, to whom many Princes and much people flock'd with monies, and many went voluntarily to this war without expecting any pay (so much could Religion prevail in the hearts of men) moved thereto by the Example of their Captains and Leaders. This enterprise was very glorious in its beginnings, for not only all *Asia minor*, but *Syria* and part of *Egypt* fell into the hands of the *Christians*, and this it was gave birth to the order of Knights of *Jerusalem*, which at this day are reigning and resident

The Holy War.

Knights of *Jerusalem.*

reſident in the Iſland of *Rhodes*, the only ſtrong Bulwark againſt the *Turks*. There now ſprung up likewiſe the order of Knights Templars, who by reaſon of the lewdneſs of their manners ſoon fell to decay. In progreſs of time ſundry accidents happened, whereby many whole nations as well as particular perſons became famous. In favour of this enterpriſe went the Kings of *England* and *France*, the Nobles and people of *Piſa*, *Venice* and *Genoua*, who all gained a high reputation, fighting a long time with various ſucceſſes againſt *Saladine* the *Saracen Sultan*; but in the end his valour and the Chriſtians diſſentions rob'd them of all that glory, they had at firſt attained to, and after ninety years they were driven out of all that they had with ſo much honour and ſo happily recovered. Templers.

After the death of *Urban*, *Paſchal* the Second was created Pope, and *Henry* the Fourth advanced to the Empire. He comes to *Rome* feigning a Friendſhip for the Pope, but afterwards puts the Pope and all his Clergy in Priſon, nor would he releaſe them, till full power was granted him to diſpoſe of the *Genman* Church as he pleaſed, about this time dyed the Counteſs *Mathilda*, and left the Church heir to her Eſtates. After the death of *Paſcal* and *Henry* ſucceeded divers Popes and divers Emperours, till ſuch time as the Papacy came to *Alexander* the Third, and the Empire to *Frederick* the *Swede*, ſirnamed *Barbaroſſa*. The Popes had *Paſchal* the ſecond Pope. *Alexander* the third Pope. *Fred. Barbaroſſa* Emperour.

had all theſe times along been much perplexed by the Emperours and People of *Rome*, but their vexation was in the time of *Barbaroſſa* mightily increaſed. *Frederick* was an excellent Soldier, bnt of ſo haughty a ſpirit, that he could not endure to yield to the Pope; yet at his Election he came to *Rome* to be crowned, and returned peaceably back into *Germany*: But he held not long in that quiet temper, for returning into *Italy*, to reduce ſome Towns in *Lombardy*, had refuſed him obedience, it happened at the ſame time that the Cardinal of St. *Clement*, a Native of *Rome*, divided himſelf from Pope *Alexander*, and by a *Junčto* of Cardinals was created Pope. The Emperour *Frederick* lay then encampted at *Cremona*, to whom *Alexander* ſending to complain of the Anti-pope, received anſwer, that they ſhould both appear before him, and then he would give ſentence which of them ſhould be Pope. This anſwer diſpleaſed *Alexander*, and becauſe he obſerved *Frederick* inclinable to favour the Anti-pope, he Excommunicates him, and flees to *Phillip* King of *France*. Mean while *Frederick* purſuing the War in *Lombardy*, takes and diſmantles *Milan*, whereupon *Verona Padua*, and *Vicenza* made a League together againſt him for their common defence. During theſe tranſactions the Anti-pope dyes, and the Emperour in his ſtead creates *Guido* of *Cremona*. In this Interval of time, the *Romans* by reaſon of the Pope's abſence,

An Anti-pope in *Italy*.

The Anti-pope dyes and another ſet up.

ſence, and the impediments the Emperour met with in *Lombardy*, had reaſſumed ſome authority, and went about requiring Homage of thoſe Towns had formerly been their ſubjects. And becauſe the *Tuſcolans* would not ſubmit to their Authority, attempted to force them to it; but they, being aſſiſted by *Frederick*, fell upon the *Romans* Army, and routed them with ſo horrible a ſlaughter, that *Rome* was never ſince either ſo rich or populous. However Pope *Alexander* was returned to *Rome*, hoping he might be very ſecure there, becauſe of the Enmity the *Romans* bore to *Frederick*, and of the Enemies which he had in *Lombardy*. But *Frederick* laying aſide reſpect of all things elſe, goes and encamps before *Rome*, where *Alexander* ſtay'd not his coming, but flees for refuge to *William* King of *Puglia*, who remained heir of that Kingdom after the death of *Roger*. But the Plague getting into *Frederick's* army, forced him to raiſe his Siege, and return into *Germany*: And thoſe Towns of *Lombardy* which had conſpired againſt him, the better to oppreſs *Pavia* and *Tortona*, which held on the Imperial ſide, built a City to be the ſeat of the War, which they called *Alexandria*, in honour of Pope *Alexander* and ſcorn of *Frederick*. *Guido* the Anti-pope likewiſe dying, *John* of *Fermo* was ſet up in his ſtead, who protected by the Imperial party, reſided in *Monteſiaſconi*: Mean while Pope *Alexander* was gone to *Tuſculum*, invited thither by that people,

The Romans defeated by the Tuſcolanes.

that by vertue of his Authority, they might be the better defended from the *Romans*.

Ambaſſadors to the Pope about *Thomas Becket.*

Hither came to him Ambaſſadors from *Henry* King of *England*, to let him know that their King had not any hand in the death of St. *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as was publickly reported. Whereupon the Pope ſent two Cardinals into *England* to enquire into the truth of things; and though they could not find the King in any manifeſt fault, yet becauſe of the infamy and ſcandal of the ſin, and for that he had not honoured him as he deſerved, they put him to this penance, that Convoking together all the Barons of his Kingdom, he ſhould clear himſelf upon Oath before them, and beſides ſhould preſently ſend two hundred Soldiers paid for a whole year to *Jeruſalem*; and ſhould himſelf be obliged with as great an Army as he could raiſe, to go there in perſon before three years expired. And further, that he ſhould annul all acts any way infringing the liberty of the Clergy, and give conſent that any of his Subjects that pleaſed might appeal to *Rome*: All which conditions were accepted by *Henry*, and that great King ſubmitted to a ſentence, which a private man would now bluſh to ſtoop to. But though the Pope exerciſed ſuch authority over Princes ſo far diſtant; yet could he not reduce the people of *Rome* to obedience, whom he could not prevail with to grant him reſidence there, though he promiſed, not to meddle with any but

King *Henry's* ſubmiſſion.

Eccleſi-

Eccleſiaſtical affairs, ſo much are appearrances more dreaded at a diſtance then nearer hand. *Frederick* mean while was returned into *Italy*, and whilſt he was preparing new War againſt the Pope, all his Prelates and Lords declared they would forſake him, unleſs he would reconcile himſelf to the Church; So that he was conſtrained to go and adore the Pope at *Venice* where they came to accord. By which agreement the Pope deprived the Emperour of all Authority over *Rome*, and nominated *William* King of *Sicily* and *Puglia* for his confederate. And *Frederick* of a temper not able to live in quiet, goes to the *Holy Land*, to wreak that rage and ambition upon the *Mahometans*, which he fail'd of having ſatisfied againſt the Vicar of *Chriſt*. But coming to the River *Cydnus*, and delighted with the clearneſs of its Streams, he went to waſh himſelf in it, and of that diſorder dyed. *Frederick* thus dead, the Pope had only the contumacy of the *Romans* to conteſt with. And after many diſputes about the creation of Conſuls, it was agreed that the *Romans* ſhould elect them according to their ancient Cuſtoms, but that they ſhould not enter upon the Magiſtracy, till they had ſworn fealty to the Church; this agreement made *John* the Anti-pope flee to *Montauban*, where he ſoon after dyed. Mean while *William* King of *Naples* dyes, and the Pope deſigns to poſſeſs himſelf of that Kingdom; that Prince having left no other Male-Children

Frederick ſubmits to the Pope.

Go to the Holy War

And dyes in the way.

The Pope deſigns to ſeize the Kingdom of *Naples*.

dren but *Tancred* his baſe Son. But the Barons would by no means conſent to the Pope, but would have *Tancred* for their King. *Celeſtine* the Third was now Pope, who deſirous to ſnatch that Kingdom out of *Tancreds* hands; contrived to make *Henry* Son of *Frederick* Emperour, and promiſed him the Kingdom of *Naples*, upon condition he ſhould reſtore to the Church thoſe Lands appertained to it; and to make the matter more eaſie, he takes out of the Monaſtery *Conſtance* the Daughter of *William* already well ſtricken in years, and gives her *Henry* to Wife. And thus paſſed the Kingdom of *Naples* from the *Normans*, who had been the Founders of it, to the *Germans*. *Henry* the Emperour having firſt ſetled the affairs of *Germany*, comes into *Italy* with his Wife *Conſtance*, and his Son of about four years old, called *Frederick*, and without much difficulty makes himſelf maſter of the Kingdom; *Tancred* being already dead, and having left behind him only an Infant called *Roger*. Sometime after *Henry* dyes in *Sicily*, and *Frederick* ſucceeds him in the Kingdom; And in the Empire *Otho* Duke of *Saxony*, made ſo by the favour of *Innocent* the Third, but as ſoon as he had got the Crown, contrary to all imagination, *Otho* becomes an Enemy of the Popes, ſeizes on *Romania*, and prepares to invade the Kingdom: whereupon the Pope Excommunicates him, and he being forſaken by all, the Electors choſe *Frederick* King of

Henry Son of *Frederick* made Emperour.

And King of *Naples*.

Henry dyes.

of *Naples* Emperour. *Frederick* comes to *Rome* for the Crown, but the Pope refuſes to crown him, fearful of his power, and wiſhing rather to drive him out of *Italy*, as he had driven *Otho*. Whereupon *Frederick* in anger, goes into *Germany*, and after many battails with *Otho* overcomes him. Mean time *Innocent* dyes, who beſides other his famous works built the Hoſpital of the Holy Ghoſt at *Rome*, to him ſucceeded *Honorious* the Third, in whoſe time ſprung up the Orders of St. *Dominick* and St. *Francis* in the year M CC XVIII. This Pope Crowns *Frederick*, and *John* deſcended from *Baldwin* King of *Jeruſalem* (who was with the remnant of the Chriſtians in *Aſia*, and yet held the Title) gives him his Daughter to wife, and for a Dower conſigns to him the Title of that Kingdom, whence it comes, that whoever is King of *Naples*, ſtiles himſelf King of *Jeruſalem*. In *Italy* they now lived after this manner: The *Romans* made no Conſuls, but in ſtead of them they made ſometimes one, ſometimes more Senators. The League likewiſe continued that was made amongſt the Cities of *Lombardy* againſt the Emperour *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, which were *Milan*, *Breſcia*, *Mantoua*, with moſt part of the Cities of *Romania*, and beſides them *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padoua* and *Trevigi*. On the Emperours part were *Cremona*, *Bergamo*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Modena* and *Trent*. The other Cities and Caſtles of *Lombardy*, *Romania* and *Marca Trevigi-*

Frederick King of *Naples* Emperour.

The State of *Italy*.

Trevigiana took according to the neceſſity of the times now one part, now the other. There was come into *Italy*, in the time of *Otho* the Third one *Ezelmo*, of whom remained in *Italy*, one Son that begot another *Ezelmo*. He being rich and potent, addreſſed himſelf to *Frederick* the Second, who (as has been ſaid) was become enemy to the Pope, he took *Verona* and *Mantoua*, diſmantled *Vicenza*, garriſon'd *Padua* and defeating the army of the Colleagues, takes his courſe towards *Tuſcany*. Inſomuch that *Ezelmo* had ſubdued all *Marca Trevigiana*; but he could not Maſter *Ferrara*, it being too well defended by *Azone d' Eſte*, and thoſe people the Pope had in *Lombardy*. Whereupon raiſing his Seige, the Pope gave that City in Fee to *Azone d' Eſte*, from whom are deſcended the preſent Lords of it. *Frederick* ſtay'd at *Piſa*, deſirous to make himſelf Lord of *Tuſcany*, and by ſtriving to diſtinguiſh between his friends and enemies, he ſow'd thoſe ſeeds of diviſion which occaſioned the ruine of all *Italy*: For the factions of the *Guelfs* and the *Ghibellines* multiplyed; Thoſe who followed the Church being called *Guelfs*, and thoſe who ſided with the Emperour *Ghibellines*; in *Piſtoya* were theſe names firſt heard. *Frederick* departing from *Piſa*, waſtes and deſtroys the Territories of the Church. So that the Pope having no other remedy, ſets on foot the *Croiſado* againſt him, as his Predeceſſors had done againſt the Infidels: And *Frederick*

The Factions of the *Guelfs* and *Ghibellines* multiply.

derick, that he might not in an inſtant be forſaken of his people, as *Frederick Barbaroſſa*; and other his Anceſtors had been, hires great numbers of *Sarazens*, and to oblige them to his ſervice, and erect to himſelf a Bulwark in *Italy*, firm enough to withſtand the Church, without fear of the Popes curſes; he gives unto them *Nocera* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, that having a refuge of their own, they might with more ſecurity ſerve him. *Innocent* the Fourth was now come to the Popedom, who fearful of *Frederick*, firſt goes to *Genoua*, and thence to *France*, where he calls a Councel at *Lyons*; to which *Frederick* determines to go, but was with-held by the Rebellion of *Parma*, from the Seige of which being repulſed, he goes into *Tuſcany*, and thence to *Sicily*, where he dyes, leaving his Son *Conrade* in *Suevia*, and in *Puglia*, *Manfred* born of his Concubine, whom he had made Duke of *Beneventum*. *Conrade* comes to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, and arriving at *Naples* dyes, leaving only *Conradine* an Infant, and then in *Germany*. Whereupon *Manfred* firſt as Protector of *Conradine*, gets that State into his hands, and afterwards giving out that *Conradine* was dead, makes himſelf King, both againſt the will of the Pope, and the *Neapolitans*, whom he forced to give their conſent. Whilſt the Kingdom labour-ed under theſe calamities, many troubles were raiſed in *Lombardy* by the *Guelfe*, and the *Ghibelline* Factions. For the *Guelfe*'s ſtood

Innocent the Fourth Pope.

Frederick Emperour and King of *Naples* dyes.

Manfred his baſe ſon gets the Kingdom.

ſtood up for the Popes Legate, and the *Ghibellines* for *Ezelmo*, who was poſſeſſed of almoſt all *Lombardy* beyond the *Po*. And becauſe in the heat of the War *Padoua* had rebelled, he put to death twelve thouſand *Paduans*, and before the War was ended dyed himſelf, at about thirty years of age, after whoſe death all the Towns by him poſſeſſed were free. *Manfred* King of *Naples* purſued the Enmity of his Anceſtors againſt the Church, and held the Pope, who was now called *Urban* the Eighth, in continual trouble and torment, in ſo much that to tame him, he ſet on foot the *Croiſado* againſt him, and went to *Perugia* to attend their coming in to him; but perceiving that people came in very ſlow and faintly, he concluded that to overcome *Manfred*, more certain helps would be requiſite, he therefore ſeeks the favour of *France*, and to that end, *Charles* of *Anjou*, brother of *Lewis* King of *France*, he creates King of *Sicily* and *Naples*, and encourages him to come and take poſſeſſion of that Kingdom. But before *Charles* could get to *Rome*, the Pope dyes, and in his ſtead *Clement* the Fourth was got into the Chair; in whoſe time *Charles*, with thirty Gallyes arrives at *Oſtia*, having given order to his other people to come by Land. Whilſt he ſtay'd in *Rome*, the *Romans*, to gratifie him, made him Senator, and the Pope inſtalled him in the Kingdom, on condition that he ſhould yearly pay to the Church fifty thouſand Florines,

Purſues his fathers enmity againſt the Church.

The Pope creates *Charles* of *Anjou*, King of *Naples*.

He arrives at *Oſtia*.

and

and withall made a Decree that neither *Charles* nor any other holding that Kingdom ſhould be capable of being Emperours. *Charles* marches againſt *Manfred*, defeats and kills him near *Beneventum*, and ſo becomes Lord of *Sicily* and *Naples*. But *Conradine* to whom by his fathers will that Scepter belonged, having gathered a great power in *Germany*, comes into *Italy* againſt *Charles*, with whom he fights at *Taliacozzo*, is defeated and flees, but in his flight being known, is taken priſoner and ſlain. *Italy* was now quiet till *Adrian* the Fifth ſucceeded to the Papacy, and *Charles* being now at *Rome*, and governing the City by virtue of his Senators office, the Pope not able to endure his greatneſs and power retires, and makes *Viterbo* his reſidence, from whence he ſolicits the Emperour *Rodolphus* to come into *Italy* againſt *Charles*. Thus the Popes often out of ſpecious pretences of their care of Religion, but oftener out of their own natural Ambition, never ceaſed calling freſh forces into *Italy*, and ſtirring up of new wars; and no ſooner had they made any Prince powerful, but they repented it, and ſought his ruine, not permitting any to poſſeſs that Province, which by reaſon of their own weakneſs they could not enjoy. And Princes ſtood in aw of them, becauſe fighting or flying they always overcame, if they were not by ſome wile or other oppreſſed; as were *Boniface* the Eighth, and ſome others, who under the colour of Friendſhip

Adrian the fifth Pope.

Friendſhip were by the Emperours made priſoners. *Rodolphus* could not come into *Italy*, being ſtaid by the war he had in *Bohemia*. Whileſt things ſtood thus, *Adrian* dyes, and *Nicolas* the Third, of the Family of *Orſini* is made Pope, who contrived all ways imaginable to leſſen the power of *Charles*, and managed things ſo as to make the Emperour complain that *Charles* kept a Governour in *Tuſcany*, and favoured the *Guelf* Faction, which ſince *Manfred*'s death had been by him revived in that Province: *Charles* yielded to the Emperour, and withdrew his Governour, and the Pope ſent one of his Cardinal Nephews Governour for the Empire: whereupon the Emperour in return of this Honour reſtored *Romania* to the Church, which had by his predeceſſors been taken from it, and the Pope made *Bertolds Orſini* Duke of *Romania*: and now judging himſelf potent enough to look *Charles* in the face, he firſt took away his Office of Senatour, and made a Decree that none of Royal Blood ſhould hereafter be Senators of *Rome*. He had next a mind to ſnatch *Sicily* from *Charles*, and to that end held a private treaty with *Peter* King of *Arragon*, which afterwards in the time of his Succeſſor took effect. He deſigned likewiſe to make two Kings of his own Family, one in *Lombardy*, and the other in *Tuſcany*, whoſe power might be ſufficient to defend the Church from the invaſion of the *Germans*, and *inſolencies* of the *French*, already

Nicolas the third Pope.

Treats privately with *Arragon* to take *Sicily* from *Charles*

ready in the Kingdom. But with theſe thoughts he dyed, and was the firſt of the Popes that gave ſuch viſible teſtimonies of his natural ambition, and who under colour of ſeeking the Churches advantage, ſought only honours and riches for himſelf and his. And as in the times hitherto paſt, no mention is made of any Nephews or Kindred of the Popes, ſo for the future the Hiſtory will be ſo full of them that we ſhall not fail to meet even with their own children; nor can the Popes now have any thing more to tempt them, but as they have deſigned all along to theſe times to make principalities hereditary, ſo now to contrive to make the Papacy ſo. Indeed true it is that principalities by them erected are ſeldom long lived, becauſe the Popes generally living themſelves but a very ſhort time, though they plant never ſo well, yet their plants not having time enough to ſpread and faſten in the root, having but ſlender hold muſt needs upon the firſt guſt of wind flag, and wanting that virtue which ſhould uphold them, fall. To *Nicolas* ſucceeded *Martin* the Fourth, who being of the *French* nation favoured *Charles* his party, and in requital *Charles* ſent his Forces into *Romania* that had rebelled, and being encamped at *Furli*, *Guido Bonaſi* an Aſtrologer gave directions that at a ſignal given by him the people ſhould fall on upon them, inſomuch that all the *French* were taken or ſlain. In this time the practice ſet on foot

Popes Nephews and Relations firſt publickly preferred and enriched.

Martin the eighth Pope.

foot by Pope *Nicolas* with *Peter* King of *Arragon* was brought to effect, for the *Sicilians* maſſacred all the *French* they found; and *Peter* made himſelf Lord of the Iſland, under pretence it belonged to him in right of his wife *Conſtance* the daughter of *Manfred*; but *Charles* providing for war in order to the recovery of it dyes, leaving behind him *Charles* the Second, who in that war was made priſoner in *Sicily*, and to regain his liberty, promiſed that he would again deliver himſelf up priſoner, if within three years time he did not prevail with the Pope to inveſt the Kings of *Arragon* with the Kingdom of *Sicily*. *Rodulphus* the Emperour though he could not come into *Italy*, yet to gain the Empire ſome reputation there, ſends his Embaſſadour with full authority to make all thoſe Cities free that would purchaſe it; whereupon many bought it, and with their liberty changed their manner of living. *Adolphus* of *Saxony* ſucceeded in the Empire, and in the Papacy *Piero del Murone* who was called Pope *Celeſtine*, who being a Hermit, and of a ſtrict and holy life, after ſix months reſigned, and *Boniface* the Eighth was elected. The Heavens that knew there would a time come that *Italy* ſhould be freed from the *French* and *Germans*, and be left entire in the hands of *Italians*, ſo that the Pope if foreign obſtacles were once wanting, could neither eſtabliſh nor hold his power, raiſed up in *Rome* two mighty families, the *Co-*

lonneſs

The French maſſacred in *Sicily*.

The Aragonians ſeize the Iſland.

Rodulphus ſells the Cities of *Italy* their freedom.

Boniface the eighth Pope

Ionneſi and the *Orſini* that with their power and vicinity they might keep the Papacy at a bay; whereupon Pope *Boniface* who knew this well, endeavoured utterly to extirpate the family of the *Coloneſi*, and beſides having excommunicated them, bandied the Croiſado againſt them, which, if it damaged them, damaged the Church much more; for thoſe arms which by faith and charity would do wonders, being by ſelf ambition turned againſt Chriſtians, loſe their edge and virtue: and thus the immoderate deſire of ſatisfying their own appetite, made the Popes by degrees diſarm themſelves. He alſo depoſed two of that family, which were Cardinals; and *Sciarra* the chief of the Family (in a diſguiſe) flying, was taken by the *Catalonian* Corſairs, and put to the oar, but afterwards coming to be known in *Marſellis* was ſent to *Philip* King of *France*, who ſtood excommunicated and deprived of his Kingdom by *Boniface*: and *Philip* conſidering that in open war againſt the Pope, Princes either came off loſers, or run great hazards, had recourſe to cunning, and diſſembling to make an agreement with the Pope, he ſends *Sciarra* privately into *Italy*, who arrived at *Anagnia* where the Pope then was, and getting his friends together by night, took him, and though ſoon after the people of *Anagnia* reſcued and ſet him at liberty, yet nevertheleſs out of mere vexation to be ſo taken, he dyed mad. *Boniface* was the firſt that eſtabliſhed

The Pope ſeeks to ruine all the *Coloneſi*.

Dyes mad.

the Jubilee, *anno* 1300, and ordered the celebrating it every hundredth year. About these times happened great troubles between the *Guelf* and *Ghibelline* factions, and because *Italy* seemed forsaken by the Emperours, many Cities became free, and many were usurped by tyrants. Pope *Benedict* restored the Cardinal *Colonese* the hat, and absolved *Philip* King of *France*; To him succeeded *Clement* the Fifth, who being a French man removed the Court into *France* 1306. During these things dyed *Charles* the Second, King of *Naples*, to whom succeeded *Robert* his son, and to the Empire was elected *Harry* of *Luxemburgh*, who came to *Rome* to be *crowned*, though the Pope was not there. Sad troubles arose in *Lombardy* by reason of his coming, for all those that were driven out, whether *Guelfs* or *Ghibellines*, being returned again into their own Cities, and striving again to drive each other out, they filled *Italy* with war and tumult, do whatever the Emperour could to prevent it. Parting from *Lombardy* by way of *Genoua*, he came to *Pisa*, where he begun to contrive how to rescue *Tuscany* from King *Robert*, but not able to do any thing, he goes forward to *Rome*, where he stayed but few days, for being driven out by the *Orsini*, encouraged by King *Roberts* favour, he returned to *Pisa*, and that he might more securely war against *Tuscany*, and withdraw it from under King *Roberts* yoke, he caused *Frederick*

Clement the Fifth, Pope.

Harry of *Luxemburgh* Emperour.

King

King of *Sicily* to invade it, but whileſt he was hoping to poſſeſs *Tuſcany*, and take it away from *Robert*, he dyed. To whom ſucceeded in the Empire *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. And in the *interim* *John* the two and twentieth came to be Pope, during whoſe time the Emperour ceaſed not to perſecute the *Guelfs*, and the Church, whoſe chief defenders were King *Robert* and the *Florentines*, whence aroſe mighty wars managed in *Lombardy* by the *Viſconti* againſt the *Guelfs*, and in *Tuſcany* by *Caſtruccio* of *Lucca* againſt the *Florentines*. But becauſe the Family of the *Viſconti* were thoſe that laid the foundation of the Dutchy of *Milan*, one of the five principalities that after governed *Italy*: I think it convenient to make a larger inquiſition into their original. After the league in *Lombardy*, which we have before mentioned, made by ſeveral Cities to defend themſelves from *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, *Milan*, reſtored from its ruines, to revenge the injuries it had received, joined it ſelf in that league, which bridled *Barbaroſſa*, and for a time kept the Church party in heart and life; and amidſt the calamities of the war that enſued, the Family *de la Torre* became moſt potent in that City, and daily increaſed in reputation, while the Emperours authority was but feeble in that Province: but *Frederick* the Second coming into *Italy*, and the *Ghibellin* Faction growing potent by means of *Ezelmo*, and that humour ſpreading in every City. Amongſt

Lewis of *Bavaria* Emperour.

John the two and twentieth Pope.

The *Viſconti* firſt Dukes of *Milan*.

thoſe who in *Milan* were leaders of that party was the Family of the *Viſconti* who chaſed thoſe *de la Torre* out of that City, yet ere they had been long expelled, by agreement made between the Emperour and Pope, they were reſtored to their Countrey. But the Pope being with his Court gone into *Fance*, and *Harry* of *Luxemburgh* coming into *Italy* to go fetch the Crown at *Rome*, was in *Milan* received by *Maffeo Viſconti* and *Guido de la Torre*, the two heads of thoſe Families; and *Maffeo* deſigning to make uſe of the Emperour to drive *Guido* out of *Milan*, which he judged eaſie to do, becauſe he was of the contrary faction, took occaſion from the grievances and complaints of the people at the tyrannous deportment of the *Germans*, and warily went about encouraging every one, and perſwading them to take arms and free themſelves from the ſlavery of thoſe *Barbarians*: and when he thought he had diſpoſed all things to his purpoſe, he cauſed by one of his confidents a tumult to be raiſed, whereupon all the people took arms againſt the *German* name; and no ſooner was the alarm given, but *Maffeo* with his ſons and all his confederates arming themſelves, ran with ſpeed to *Harry*, telling him how this tumult aroſe from the Family *de la Torre*, who not content to live privately in *Milan*, had taken that opportunity to ſack it, to gratifie the *Guelfs* of *Italy*, and make themſelves Princes of that City; but that he ſhould be of good courage

for

for they and their party if he were minded to defend himſelf, were ready to run all hazards to ſecure him; the Emperour believed all that *Maffeo* told him, and joining his forces to the *Viſconti's*, ſet upon thoſe *de la Torre* (who were diſperſed up and down the City to appeaſe the tumult,) and thoſe they could light of they ſlew, and the reſt, having diſpoil'd them of their goods, baniſhed; thus remained *Maffeo Viſconti* as Prince in *Milan*, and after him *Galeazo* and *Azo*, and after them *Lucinus* and *John*, *John* became Arch-Biſhop of that City, and *Lucinus* (who dyed before him) left Iſſue, *Barnaby* and *Galeazo*, but *Galeazo*, dying ſoon after, left behind him *John Galeazo*, called the Count of virtue; who after the death of the Arch-Biſhop, treacherouſly ſlew his Uncle *Barnaby*, and remained the ſole Prince of *Milan*, and was he who firſt bore the title of Duke; of his iſſue remained *Philip*, and *John Maria Angelo*, who being ſlain by the people of *Milan*, the State remained to *Philip*, who left no Iſſue-male, and ſo was this Government transferred from the Family of the *Viſconti's* to that of the *Sforza's*, in the manner, and for the reaſons which ſhall in due place be declared. But to return where we left off, *Lewis* the Emperour to give reputation to his party, and to take the Crown, comes into *Italy*, paſſing through *Milan*, and having occaſion to levy ſome money among the *Milaneſes*, makes a ſhow of giving them liberty, and puts

Lewis the Emperor to draw money from the *Milaneſes*, impriſons the *Viſconti*.

puts the *Viſconti* in priſon, whom afterwards by means of *Caſtruccio* of *Lucca*, he releaſed, and going to *Rome*, the better to diſturb the peace of *Italy*, he makes *Peter Cornara* Anti-pope, by whoſe reputation and the *Viſconti's* arms; he hoped to weaken the oppoſing parties of *Tuſcany* and *Lombardy*; but *Caſtruccio* dyes, and his death was the principal cauſe of *Lewis* his ruine, for *Piſa* and *Lucca* rebelled againſt him, and the *Piſans* ſent the Anti-pope priſoner to the Pope in *France*, and the Emperour deſpairing of the affairs of *Italy*, returns into *Germany*: No ſooner was he gone, but *John* King of *Bohemia* comes into *Italy*, invited by the *Ghibellines* of *Breſcia*, of which and *Bergamo* he makes himſelf maſter: and becauſe his coming was by the Popes conſent (though the contrary was pretended) the Legate of *Bolonia* favoured him, judging it a good expedient againſt the Emperours return into *Italy*. By this accident the face of things in *Italy* were quite changed, for the *Florentines* and King *Robert* ſeeing the Legate favoured the attempts of the *Ghibellines*, became enemies to all thoſe, to whom the Legate and King of *Bohemia* were friends: and without reſpect either to *Guelf* or *Ghibelline* drew in many Princes into league with themſelves; amongſt whom were the *Viſconti*, thoſe *de la Scala*, *Philip Gonzaga* of *Mantoua*, thoſe of *Carrara*, and thoſe *D'eſte*, whereupon the Pope excommunicated them all, and the King doubtful

Piſa and *Lucca* rebel.

John King of *Bohemia* comes into *Italy*.

of

of this League, went home to recruit his Army, and returning again with greater force, yet found the enterprise very difficult: whereupon terrified, to the great displeasure of the Legate, he returned into *Bohemia*, leaving only *Reggio* and *Modena* garrisoned, and recommending *Parma* to *Marsilio*, and *Peter de Rossi*, who were very potent in that City. He being gone, *Bolonia* entred into the League, and the Confederates divided among themselves four Cities, which still remained on the party of Church, agreeing that *Parma* should be given to those *della scala*, *Reggio* to *Gonzaga*, *Modena* to the *D' Este*, and *Lucca* to the *Florentines*. But in the Enterprise of taking these Towns many broyls ensued, which were most of them at length composed by the *Venetians*. It may possibly appear strange to some, that among so many accidents which happened in *Italy*, we have so long deferred to make any mention of the *Venetians*, they being a Common-wealth, both in point of Rule and Power, to be celebrated before any other Principality of *Italy*. But to take away any such cause of wonder; I will go back so far, that every one may understand, what were its beginnings, and why they deferred, for so long a time, the concerning themselves in the affairs of *Italy*. *Attila* King of the *Huns* besieging *Aquilegia*, its inhabitants after having a long time defended themselves, despairing of their safety, carrying off their moveables in the

The rise of *Venice*.

beſt manner they could, ſheltred themſelves upon a great cluſter of uninhabited Rocks, at the point of the *Adriatick* Sea. The *Paduans* likewiſe ſeeing the fire brought almoſt to their own doors, and fearing after the taking of *Aquilegia*, *Attila* would fall likewiſe upon them, all their moveables of moſt value they carried likewiſe into the ſame Sea, to a place called the High-bank, whither they ſent likewiſe their Wives, Children, and old Men, keeping only the young Men in *Padoua* to defend it. In like manner thoſe of *Montſelice* urged by the ſame fear, came to ſeek ſhelter in thoſe Rocks, But *Aquilegia* taken, and *Attila* having ſpoiled *Padoua*, *Montſelice*, *Vicenza*, and *Verona*, thoſe of *Padoua*, and the moſt powerful of the others, continued to inhabit thoſe Marſhes that were about the High-bank. And in like manner all the people about that Province, which was anciently called *Venetia*, driven by the ſame accidents, ſought a refuge in thoſe Marſhes, and ſo forced by neceſſity; they forſook pleaſant and fruitful places, to go and inhabit in places wild and barren, and wanting all manner of neceſſary conveniencies. But having people enough in an inſtant gathered together, in a very ſhort time they made thoſe places, not only habitable but delightful; and conſtituting Laws and Orders among themſelves, among all the Ruines, and Rapines which *Italy* groaned under, lived quiet and ſecure, and in a ſhort time

grew

grew to power and reputation; for beſides the forementioned inhabitants, many of the Cities of *Lombardy* fleeing from the cruelty of *Cleſis*, King of the *Lombards*, took ſanctuary here, which added no ſmall increaſe to this City. In ſo much, that in the time of *Pepin* King of *France*, when at the Popes intreaty he came to drive the *Lombards* out of *Italy*. In the Articles agreed on between him, and the Greek Emperour, the Duke of *Beneventum*, and the *Venetians* paid Homage to neither, but in the midſt of both, enjoyed their own liberty. Moreover, as neceſſity had driven them to live among the Waters, ſo (no more relying now upon the Land) it forced them to bethink themſelves how they might honeſtly live, and thereupon trading with their Ships to all parts of the World, they ſtockt their City with ſundry ſorts of Merchandize, which others wanting, begot a neceſſary and frequent concourſe of people thither: Nor thought they for a good while of any other Dominion, but ſuch as might be moſt commodious for their Trade, and therefore poſſeſſed themſelves of many Ports in *Greece* and *Syria*; and upon the paſſages made by the *French* into *Aſia* (becauſe they made uſe of their ſhipping) the Iſland of *Candia* was conſigned to them. And whilſt they lived in this manner, their name grew terrible upon the Sea, and reſpected through all *Italy*, ſo that few controverſies happened, in which they were not made Arbitrators.

The Venetians made arbitrators of all differences.

As

As particularly in this difference which arose among the Confederates on account of the Territories to be divided amongst them, who referring the matter to the *Venetians*, the *Visconti* had assigned them *Bergamo* and *Brescia*. But in process of time, having added to their Dominion, *Padoua*, *Vicenza* and *Trevigi*, and afterwards *Verona*, *Bergamo* and *Brescia*, and in the Kingdom, and *Romania*, divers other Cities; hurried on with a desire of rule, they grew into such an estimation of their power, that they not only appeared terrible to the Princes of *Italy*, but even to remoter Kings: Whereupon all conspiring against them, they had in one day taken from them all that Dominion, they had in so many years, with such infinite expence of blood and treasure been gaining. And though indeed in these latter times they have regained some part, yet having recovered neither that reputation, nor power, they live (as do all the other Princes of *Italy*) at the discretion of others. *Benedict* the Twelfth was now advanced to the papacy, and imagining he had utterly lost the possession of *Italy*, fearing lest *Lewis* should make himself Lord of it, he determined to make a League with all those which had usurped the Lands that formerly paid obedience to the Empire, and to the end he might make them stand in fear of the Emperour, and bind them the firmer to the defence of *Italy*; he made a Decree, that all the Tyrants of *Lombardy* should possess the

Benedict the Twelfth Pope.

Lands

Lands they had uſurped, by juſt Title: But the Pope dying, during this conceſſion, *Clement* the Sixth confirmed it. And the Emperour ſeeing with what liberality the Pope had given away the Lands of the Empire, that he might not be leſs liberal then he, in diſpoſing the goods of others, he gave to all the Tyrants, that had uſurped upon the Territories of the Church, all their Lands, to hold them by Imperial Authority, by which means *Galeotte Maleteſti*, and his brethren became Lords of *Rimini*, *Peſaro* and *Fano*. *Antonio* of *Montefeltiro* of *Marca* and *Urbine*; *Gentile* of *Varano*, of *Camerino*; *Guido de Polenta* of *Raveuna*; *Sinibalds Ordelaſſi* of *Furli* and *Ceſena*. *John Manfredi* of *Faenza*. *Lodovico Aledoſi* of *Imola*. And beſides theſe many other Territories, ſo that of all the Lands belonging to the Church, few but had a new Prince; which, even till the time of *Alexander* the Sixth, kept the Church very weak, but he in our times with the ruine of their deſcendants reſtored its Authority. The Emperour when he made this Conceſſion was at *Trent*, and gave it out, that he had a deſign to paſs into *Italy*, which occaſioned great Wars in *Lombardy*, by which the *Viſconti* became Lords of *Parma*. About this time dyed *Robert* King of *Naples*, leaving behind him only two grand Daughters of his ſon *Charles*'s (who was dead a little before him) and willed, that the eldeſt, which was called *Joan*, ſhould inherit the Kingdom, taking

Robert King of *Naples* dyes.

taking for her Husband *Andrew*, ſon to the King of *Hungary* his Nephew. *Andrew* lived not long with her, but ſhe murdered him, and marryed another of her Couſins, *Lewis* Prince of *Taranto*. But *Lewis* King of *Hungary* to revenge his Brothers death, entred *Italy* with an Army, and drove *Joan* and her Husband from the Kingdom.

A memorable accident at *Rome*.

About this time a very memorable thing happened at *Rome*. One *Nicholas di Lozenza*, Chancellor in the Capitol, drove the Senators out of *Rome*, and made himſelf, under the title of Tribune, head of the Roman Common-wealth, and reduced it to the primitive form of Government, with ſo much reputation of Juſtice and Virtue, that not only the adjacent Territories, but all *Italy* ſent Ambaſſadors to him: In ſo much that the ancient Provinces ſeeing *Rome* as it were born again, raiſed up their heads, and ſome moved by fear, others by hope gave honour to it: But *Nicholas* himſelf notwithſtanding ſo much reputation, of his own accord in its very beginnings forſook it, for not having a ſoul large enough to bear ſuch a weight, without being oppoſed by any body, he ſecretly fled, and went to *Charles* King of *Bohemia*, who by order of the Pope (in ſcorn and contempt of *Lewis* of *Bavaria* had been elected Emperour) and he to gratifie the Pope, ſent him *Nicholas* priſoner. It followed not long after in imitation of this, that one *Franciſco Barocegli* took upon him the Tribuneſhip, and drove out

out the Senators, ſo that the Pope as a quick remedy to ſuppreſs him, takes *Nicholas* out of priſon, and ſending him to *Rome*, reſtores him to the office of *Tribune*, who having thus regained the command of the State, puts *Francis* to death. But the *Colonneſi* becoming his enemies, he was himſelf ſoon after ſlain, and the Senators reſtored. Mean time the King of *Hungary* having expell'd Queen *Joan*, returned into his own Kingdom; but the Pope who had much rather have the Queen his Neighbour, than that King, wrought ſo, that he was content to reſtore her Kingdom, provided *Lewis* her Husband would be content with the Title of *Taranto*, and not be called King. Now came in the year 1350, and the Pope thinking good that the *Jubilee* ordained by Pope *Boniface* the Eighth for every hundred years, ſhould be reduced to fifty, decreed it accordingly, for which kindneſs and benefit, the Romans were content that he ſhould ſend four Cardinals to reform the Government of that City, and make Senators according to his pleaſure. The Pope likewiſe pronounced *Lewis* of *Taranto*, King of *Naples*, for which favour Queen *Joan* gave *Avignion*, that was part of her inheritance to the Church. About this time dyed, *Lucino Viſconti*, whereby *John* Archbiſhop of *Milan* remained ſole Lord, who waged great Wars with the *Tuſcans* and his Neighbours, whereby he ſtill grew more powerful.

Queen *Joan* reſtored to her Kingdom.

The Jubilee decreed every fifty year.

Avignion given to the Church.

State of *Milan*.

After

After him remained of that ſtock his Nephew's *Barnaby* and *Galeazo*: But ſhortly after *Galeazo* dyed, leaving *John Galeazo* his ſon, who divided that State with *Barnaby*. In theſe times *Charles* King of *Bohemia* was Emperour, and *Innocent* the Sixth Pope, who ſent into *Italy* Cardinal *Ægidius* a Spaniard born, who by his valour and conduct, not only in *Romagnia* and *Rome*, but alſo throughout all *Italy* reſtored the reputation of the Church. He recovered *Bolonia*, which the Archbiſhop of *Milan* had taken: forced the *Romans* to accept one forreign Senator, which the Pope was every year to ſend them; made an honourable peace with the *Viſconti*; routed and took priſoner Sr. *John Hawkwood*, an Engliſhman, who with four thouſand Engliſh made war in *Tuſcany*, in behalf of the *Ghibellines*. Whereupon *Urban* the Fifth ſucceeding to the Papacy, and hearing of ſo many Victories, he determined to viſit *Italy* and *Rome*, whither likewiſe came the Emperour *Charles*, and after ſome few months ſtay, *Charles* returned to his Kingdom, and the Pope to *Avignion*. After *Urbans* death was created *Gregory* the Twelfth, and becauſe Cardinal *Egidius* was dead, *Italy* turned into its wonted diſorders, by reaſon of the confederacy of divers Towns againſt the *Viſconti*: In ſo much, that the Pope ſent firſt a Legat into *Italy* with ſix thouſand *Britans*, and after coming himſelf in perſon, brought again the Court

Innocent the Sixth Pope. 1350

Cardinal *Ægidius* reſtores the Churches reputation.

Urban the Fifth Pope.

Gregory the Twelfth Pope.

to

to *Rome* in the year 1376 after seventy one years being in *France*: But he being dead, *Urban* the Sixth was created, and soon after at *Fondi* by ten Cardinals, who alledged *Urban* not to have been duely chosen, was *Clement* the Seventh created. In these times the Genoueses, who for many years had lived under the Government of the *Visconti*, rebelled, and between them and the *Venetians* succeeded a most important war about the Iland *Tenedos*, by which all *Italy* was divided. In this war were Artillery first made use off, lately found out by the *Germans*: and though the *Genoueſe* had once the better of it, yet the *Venetians* came off Victors at last, and by the Popes intermission made peace. In the year 1381 arose a Schism in the Church, as we have said before, wherein *Joan* Queen of *Naples* sided with the schismatical Pope, whereupon *Urban* caused *Charles* of *Durazzo* descended of the blood Royal of *Naples*, to make an attempt upon her Crown, who coming took away her Kingdom, and possessing himself of it, forced her to flee to *France*. The King of *France* angry hereat, sends *Lewis* of *Anjou* into *Italy* to recover that Kingdom for the Queen, drive the Pope out of *Rome*, and seat the Anti-pope in the Chair: but *Lewis* in the heat of this enterpize dyes, and his people defeated and broken, returned into *France*. In the mean time the Pope went to *Naples*, where he imprisoned nine Cardinals for having adhered to *France* and the Anti-

Two Popes

War between *Genoua* and *Venice*.

Joan Queen of *Naples* expell'd by *Charles* of *Durazzo*.

Lewis of *Anjou* invading *Italy*

Dyes.

pope

pope: afterwards he grew angry with the King, becauſe he would not make one of his Nephews Prince of *Capua*, and diſſembling an indifferency for it, he requeſted *Nocera* for his dwelling, where afterwards he fortified himſelf, and prepared to deprive the King of his Kingdom, whereupon the King took the Field, and the Pope fled to *Genoua*, where he put to death thoſe Cardinals he had made priſoners. Hence he went to *Rome*, and to gain himſelf reputation, created eight and twenty Cardinals. About this time *Charles* King of *Naples* went to *Hungary* where he was made King, and ſoon after dyed, having left his wife with *Ladiſlaus* and *Joan* her children at *Naples*. About this time likewiſe *John Galeazo Viſconti* having ſlain *Barnaby* his Uncle, and ſeiſed the State of *Milan*, not ſatisfied to have thus made himſelf Duke of all *Lombardy*, he aimed likewiſe at *Tuſcany*, but when he juſt thought to have ſnatch'd the Dominion of it, and afterwards have made himſelf be crowned King of *Italy* he dyes. To *Urban* the Sixth ſucceeded *Boniface* the Ninth, and *Clement* the Anti-pope dying at *Avignion*, *Benedict* the Thirteenth was ſet up. There were in theſe times great multitudes of Soldiers in *Italy*, *Engliſh*, *Germans* and *Britains*, brought thither partly by thoſe Princes, who at ſundry times had come into *Italy*, and partly ſent by the Popes when they reſided at *Avignion*. With theſe for a long time

Charles King of *Naples* dyes.

The Schiſm in the Church continues.

time the *Italian* Princes uſed to bandy one another, till at length ſtarted up *Lewis* of *Conio*, a native of *Romagnia*, who formed a company of Soldiers, and calling them S. *Georges* band, did in a ſhort time by their Valour and Diſcipline take away the reputation of the ſtrangers, and planted it among his *Italians*, of whom afterwards the Princes of *Italy* made uſe when they warred together. The Pope having ſome diſſention with the *Romans* left the City, and went to reſide at *Sceſi*, where he ſtaid till the approaching Jubilee of 1400, at which time the *Romans* (that the Pope for their advantage might return to the City) were content to accept a new foreign Senator of his choice and ſending, and that he ſhould fortifie himſelf in the Caſtle of S. *Angelo*, upon theſe conditions being returned to *Rome*, to enrich the Church, he decrees that every one entring into a vacant Benefice, ſhould pay a years revenue to the Chamber. After the death of *John Galeazo* Duke of *Milan* though he left two ſons, *John Maria* *Angelo* and *Philip*, that eſtate was divided into ſundry parts, and in the troubles that enſued *John* was ſlain, and *Philip* for ſome time ſhut up in the Rock *Pavia*, whence by the fidelity and valour of the Governour he eſcaped. Amongſt others that ſeized on the Cities poſſeſſed by their father was *William de la Scala*, who being a baniſhed man had ſaved himſelf under the protection of *Francis* of *Carrara*

S. *Georges* Band.

Jubilee of 1400.

Popes return to *Rome*.

The State of *Milan* divided.

Lord of *Padua*, by whoſe help he gained the Territory of *Verona*, which he enjoyed but a ſhort time, for by the orders of *Francis* he was poiſoned, and the City ſurpriſed, whereupon the *Vicentines* who under the banners of the *Viſconti* had lived ſecure, fearing now the growing power of the Lords of *Padua*, yielded themſelves up to the *Venetians*, in whoſe quarrel the *Venetians* waged war againſt him, and firſt took from him *Verona* and then *Padua*. Mean time dyed Pope *Boniface*, and *Innocent* the ſeventh was elected, whom the people of *Rome* beſought to render up the Fortreſſes, and reſtore their liberty, to which the Pope not conſenting, they called unto their aid *Ladiſlaus* King of *Naples*. Afterwards coming to an agreement the Pope returned to *Rome*, whence for fear of the people he had fled to *Viterbo*, where he made his Nephew *Lewis*, Earl of the *Marca*, dying afterwards, *Gregory* the Twelfth was elected, with condition to reſign the Papacy, whenever the Antipope ſhould renounce it; and for encouragement of the Cardinals, to make tryal if the Church could be reunited. *Benedict* the Anti-pope came to port *Veneri*, and *Gregory* to *Lucca*, where many things were debated, but nothing concluded, ſo that the Cardinals of both parties forſook them, and as for the Popes, *Bennet* went into *Spain*, and *Gregory* to *Rimini*. Whileſt the Cardinals with the favour of *Baldaſſare Coſſa* Cardinal and Legate

Innocent the Seventh, Pope.

Gregory the Twelfth Pope.

gate of *Bolonia*, call a Council at *Piſa*, where they create *Alexander* the Fifth Pope, who preſently excommunicates *Ladiſlaus*, and inveſts *Lewis* of *Anjou* with that Kingdom, and together with the *Venetians*, *Genoueſes* and *Florentines*, and *Baldaſſare Coſſa* the Legat, make war upon *Ladiſlaus*, and take from him *Rome*; but in the heat of this war *Alexander* dyes, and *Baldaſſare Coſſa* was created Pope, who took the name of *John* the three and twentieth: He leaving *Bolonia* where he was created, comes to *Rome*, and there finds *Lewis* of *Anjou* come with an army out of *Province*, and giving battle to *Ladiſlaus*, overthrew him, but not able to purſue the victory for want of guides, the King in a ſhort time rallyes, recruits, and retakes *Rome*, and the Pope fled to *Bolognia*, and *Lewis* into *Province*: And the Pope conſulting how to leſſen the power of *Ladiſlaus*, brought it ſo about that *Sigiſmond* King of *Hungary* was elected Emperour, whom he encouraged to come into *Italy*, and had parly with him at *Mantoua*, where they agreed upon ſummoning a general Council to reunite the Church, that it might be the better able to withſtand the power of its enemies. There were at this time three Popes, *Gregory*, *Bennet* and *John*, which made the Church feeble, and of no reputation. *Conſtance* a City of *Germany* was made choice of for aſſembling the Council, contrary to the intentions of Pope *John*; and though by the death of *Ladi-*

Alexander the Fifth Pope.

John the three and twentieth Pope.

Sigiſmond King of *Hungary* Emperour.

Three Popes.

Council of *Conſtance*.

ſtaus the occaſion that made the Pope move for a Council were taken away, yet now having obliged himſelf he could not refuſe to go, but having been ſome few months at *Conſtance*, and too late perceiving his errour, he attempted to eſcape, for which he was caſt into priſon, and forced to reſign the Papacy, *Gregory* one of the Anti-popes likewiſe by publick inſtrument renounced it, and *Bennet* the other Anti-pope refuſing to do ſo was condemned for a Heretick. At laſt forſaken by his Cardinals, he was likewiſe conſtrained to renounce; and the Council created *Odo* of the houſe of the *Colonni* Pope, who was afterwards called *Martin* the Fifth; and thus the Church became united, after having for forty years been divided among ſeveral Popes. *Philip Viſconti* was (as we ſaid before) during theſe troubles in the *Rock* of *Pavia*: but *Fantino Cane* dying, who, during the diviſions of *Lombardy* had made himſelf Lord of *Verſelli*, *Alexandria*, *Novarra* and *Tortona*, and gathered together mighty riches, having no children he left his wife *Beatrice* his Heir, and willed his friends to procure, that ſhe might marry *Philip*, by which match *Philip* grown powerful, regains *Milan*, and all the ſtate of *Lombardy*: and afterwards as a token of his gratitude for ſuch great benefits (a trick uſual with all Princes) he accuſes his wife of Adultery, and puts her to death: however grown very potent, he begun to bethink himſelf of making

Martin the Fifth created Pope by the Council.

Philip Viſconti regains the State of *Milan*.

making war with *Tuſcany*, and proſecuting the deſigns of his Father *John Galeazzo*. *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Naples*, had at his death left *Joan* his Siſter, beſides his Kingdom, a mighty Army under the command of the experteſt Leaders of thoſe times, among the principal of which was *Sforza* of *Contignuola*, reputed in feats of Arms very valiant. The Queen to avoid the ſlander of having too much kindneſs to one *Pandolfello* a young man ſhe had brought up, took to Husband *Jacob della Marcia* a Frenchman, of the Royal Line, upon condition that he ſhould content himſelf to be called Prince of *Tarantum*, and leave to her both the Title and Government of the Kingdom; but the Soldiers as ſoon as he came to *Naples*, called him King, whereupon grew great variance, and at laſt war between Husband and Wife, and oft-times overcame they one another: but at the laſt the Queen remaining ſetled in her Eſtate, became an enemy to the Pope; whereupon *Sforza* to reduce her to neceſſity, and that ſhe might throw her ſelf into the boſom of the Church, when ſhe leaſt, imagined it deſerts her ſervice; whereupon ſeeing her ſelf on a ſudden diſarmed, and knowing no other remedy, ſhe has recourſe for ſuccour to *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, and adopting him her ſon, entertains for her General *Braccio de Montone*, a man of no leſs reputation in Arms than *Sforza*, and a ſure enemy of the Pope, having uſurped *Perugia*, and ſome other Terri-

tories of the Churches. Peace afterwards enſued between her and the Pope, but King *Alphonſo* fearing leſt ſhe ſhould treat him as ſhe had done her Husband, began to make himſelf Maſter of the ſtrong-holds. But ſhe being cunning, prevented him, and fortified her ſelf in the Rock of *Naples*: Thus ſuſpitions ariſing between them, brought them at length to open Arms, and the Queen with *Sforza*'s aſſiſtance, who was returned into her ſervice overcomes *Alphonſo*, and drives him from *Naples*, and withal cancelling his adoption, adopts *Lewis* of *Anjou*, whence ſprung up a new war between *Braccio*, who had embraced *Alphonſo*'s quarrel, and *Sforza* who favoured the Queen. In the purſuit of this war *Sforza* paſſing the River *Peſcara* was drowned, ſo that the Queen was once more left defenceleſs, and had been driven out of the Kingdom, had not ſhe been aſſiſted by *Phillip Viſconti*, Duke of *Milan*, who forced *Alphonſo* to return to *Arragon*. But *Braccio* nothing daunted at *Alphonſo*'s forſaking him, continues the war againſt the Queen, and having beſieged *Aquila*, the Pope not judging *Braccio*'s greatneſs at all convenient for the Church, takes into his pay *Francis* the ſon of *Sforza*, who marches towards *Braccio* at *Aquila*, routs and kills him. *Braccio* left behind him his ſon *Odo*, from whom the Pope took *Perugia*, and left him the State of *Montone*. But not long after he was ſlain fighting in *Romania* for the *Florentines*, ſo

ſo that of all remained of *Braccio*'s Commanders *Nicholas Piccinino* had the moſt reputation. But becauſe we are now coming to relate things neighbouring upon the times I deſigned to treat of, and that what remains imports to nothing more than the war maintained by the *Florentines* and *Venetians* againſt *Phillip* Duke of *Milan*, which ſhall be related when we come to treat, particularly of the *Florentine* affairs. I ſhall here proceed no farther, only briefly ſum up in what condition *Italy* with its Princes and Armies ſtood, in thoſe times we are now writing of. As for the prime Eſtates, Queen *Joan* the Second held the Kingdom of *Naples*; *La Marca* the *Patrimony*, and *Romania*, partly paid obedience to the Church, and in part were by its Vicars or Tyrants uſurped, as *Ferrara*, *Modena*, and *Reggio*, by the *Eſti*. *Faenza* by the *Manfredi*, *Imola* by the *Alidoſſi*, and *Furli* by the *Ordelaſſi*, *Rimini* and *Peſaro*, by the *Malateſti*, and *Camerino* by thoſe of *Varano*. In *Lombardy*, part was ſubject to Duke *Phillip*, and part to the *Venetians*, for all thoſe who held particular Territories in it were extinct, except the houſe of *Gonzaga*, who were Lords of *Mantoua*. The *Florentines* were Lords of the moſt part of *Tuſcany*, only *Lucca* and *Siena* lived under their own Laws. *Lucca* under the *Guinigi*, *Siena* free. The *Genoveſe* ſometimes free, ſometimes ſubject to the French Kings, or to the *Viſconti*, lived unregarded, and accounted among

The State of *Italy* in theſe times.

the leſſer Potentates: All theſe principal Potentates fought not with, nor employed any Armies of their own. Duke *Phillip*, ſhut up in his Chamber, & without ſuffering himſelf to be ſeen by his own Miniſters managed his Wars. The *Venetians* addicting themſelves to acquiſitions on the Land, ſtiffled that reputation had made them ſo glorious upon the Sea, & following the Cuſtom of other *Italians*, made war under the conduct of others. The Pope not becoming Armour, as being head of Religion, and Queen *Joan* being a woman, followed out of neceſſity what others did by election. The *Florentines* likewiſe ſubmitted to the ſame neceſſity, for having by their frequent diviſions exhauſted their Nobility; and that Common-wealth being fallen into the hands of men bred up in Merchandize, they followed the Orders and Fortunes of others, ſo that the Arms of *Italy* were either in the hands of the leſſer Princes, or of men of no Eſtate: for the leſſer Princes not moved by Glory, but that they might live more richly and ſecurely, undertook Commands. And the others having been trained up in Arms from their Youth, not knowing any other Trade ſought by this way to advance themſelves, either to Riches, Honour or Power. Amongſt the moſt famous of theſe were *Carmagnuola*, *Francis Sforza*, *Nicholas Piccinino* brought up under *Braccio*, *Agnolo* of *Pergola*, *Laurence* and *Micheletto Attenduli*, *Tartaglia*, *Giaccopaccio*,

cio, *Ceccolino* of *Perugia*, *Nicholas* of *Tolentino*, *Guido Torello*, *Antonia* of *Ponte and Hera*, and many other; with theſe were thoſe Lords of whom I have above ſpoken, to whom were joyned the Barons of *Rome*, *Orſini* and *Colonneſi*, with other Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom, and of *Lombardy*, who making war, their ſubſiſtance had contracted a kind of League and intelligence together, and reduced it to a perfect Trade, with which temporiſing as they pleaſed; it happened moſt an end, that whoever made war, both parties came off looſers. And in fine, they reduced it to ſuch a degree of baſeneſs, that any ordinary Captain that had but a dram of the Ancient Honour revived in him, would to the wonder of all *Italy* (who had ſo little Wit as to honour them) load them with ſcorn and reproaches: of theſe ſloathful Princes, and theſe vile Arms muſt my Hiſtory be full. Before I deſcend to which, it will be neceſſary (as in the beginning I promiſed) to return to make a relation of the Original of *Florence*, that every one may plainly perceive and ſee the poſture in which that City in thoſe times ſtood, and by what means, (amidſt ſo many troubles, which for a thouſand years together befel in *Italy*) it came into that Eſtate and Condition.

THE

THE Florentine Hiſtory

Written by

NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL.

BOOK II.

AMongſt many other great and advantagious Orders and Rules of ancient Commonwealths and Principalities, which are in theſe our times utterly extinct, was that, by virtue of which, from time to time, many Cities and Towns were new founded or rebuilt: for nothing can be more becoming, the moſt excellent of Princes, or the beſt ordered of Commonwealths, nor more beneficial to any Province, than the building of Towns, where men may aſſemble and live together, either for conveniency of defence, or for encouragement of Trade and Husbandry: Which thoſe people of old might the more eaſily do, becauſe it was their cuſtom to ſend into Countries, whether conquered or waſte, new Inhabitants,

which they called *Colonyes*: For beſides that by this courſe and order new Towns were built, it alſo the better ſecured their Conqueſts, peopled the waſte places, and by well diſtributing inhabitants throughout the Provinces maintained them with greater facility, whence it followed that as men lived in more commodiouſneſs, many Provinces the more and more they multiplyed, and were ſtill readier to offend, and abler to defend: Which Cuſtom being at this day by the great fault and error of Princes and Common-wealths quite left off, the weakneſs, and ſometines ruine of Provinces enſues; for this Order alone is that, which makes Empires ſecure, and Countries, as I have ſaid maintain plentifully their Inhabitants: for that Colony placed by any Prince in a Country, newly poſſeſſed by him, is like a Watch-tower, and guard to keep the reſt in obedience. Nor without this Order can any Province that is full inhabited ſubſiſt, nor preſerve its Inhabitants in any orderly diſtribution, for all places are not alike healthful or apt for Generation, whence muſt ſucceed, that in one place Inhabitants will abound, and in another be deficient, and if there cannot be a way found to withdraw them from places, where they are too numerous, and plant them where they want, that Province will in a ſhort time grow ruinous, for one part of it by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Inhabitants will be deſart, and the other by having too many, muſt needs

needs grow poor. And becauſe Nature cannot ſupply this defect, 'tis neceſſary that induſtry be added; for unhealthful Countries have often been made wholſome, by a multitude of men flocking at one inſtant to inhabit them, for they by culture cleanſe the earth, and by their fires purge the air, remedies which Nature cannot provide. A demonſtration of which we have in the City of *Venice*, which ſeated in a Mariſh, and unhealthful place, by the great concourſe of Inhabitants thither in an inſtant, became ſound and healthful; *Piſa*, likewiſe by reaſon of the malignity of the Air was never well repleniſhed of Inhabitants, till *Genoua* and its Sea-coaſts were infeſted by the *Saracens*, which occaſioned that thoſe men driven from their Native Countries, fled thither in ſuch ſhoals, as made that City at once populous and powerful: wherefore this order of ſending Colonies failing, conquered Countries, are with more difficulty kept in obedience, waſte Lands never planted, nor thoſe that abound eaſed. Whereby many parts of the World (and eſpecially *Italy*) are become in reſpect of ancient times, deſart, all which has happened and does happen, becauſe Princes have no true deſire of Glory, nor Commonwealths, any Order that may deſerve praiſe. But in old times, by reaſon of theſe Colonies, new Cities were oftentimes founded, or thoſe already founded grew great. Among which was the City of *Florence*, which had its be-

The Original of *Florence*.

ginning from *Fieſole*, and its increaſe from Colonies. Moſt true it is, (as *Dante* and *John Villani* demonſtrates) that the Citizens of *Fieſole* (ſeeing their Town ſeated on the very ſummity or top of the Mountain) to the end their Markets might be the better frequented, and thoſe who came thither with their Merchandize, be encouraged by conveniencie, had appointed their Market-place not upon the Hill, but on the Plain, between the foot of the Mountain and the River *Arno*: Theſe Markets were, as I judge, the firſt occaſion of raiſing any buildings there, the Merchants deſirous, as I ſuppoſe, to have Ware-houſes and ſhelter for their Commodities, firſt erecting them, and Time and Trade perfecting them, ſo that at length they became ſubſtantial buildings. And afterwards when the *Romans* had overcome the *Carthaginians*, and thereby put *Italy* into a ſecurity of not being diſturbed by foreign Forces, they were extremely multiplyed. For men never put themſelves to any ſtreights or difficulties, unleſs when neceſſity conſtrains them to it, ſo that whereas the fear of war forced theſe willingly to live in ſtrong and mountainous places, that fear once paſt, convenience and advantage draw's them more willingly down to inhabit places, more Domeſtick and eaſie. That ſecurity therefore which by the reputation of the *Roman* name was ſpread throughout *Italy*, might eaſily give an increaſe

creaſe to thoſe habitations already begun, ſo as to reduce them into the form of a Town, which in the beginning of it was called *Arnina*: There aroſe afterwards civil wars in *Rome*, firſt between *Marius* and *Sylla*, then betwixt *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and ſoon after between *Cæſars* murderers, and thoſe that ſought to revenge his death: From *Sylla* therefore in the firſt place, and afterwards from thoſe three Roman Citizens, who after revenging *Cæſar* divided the Empire amongſt them, were Colonies ſent to *Fieſole*, all or the moſt part of which erected their habitations in the plain adjoining to the town already begun, which with this augmentation appeared now to be ſo full of Buildings, men and all other civil order, that it might well be reckoned among the Cities of *Italy*. But from whence it derived the name of *Florence*, there are various opinions, ſome will have it ſo called from *Florinus* one of the chiefeſt or Leaders of the Colonies, others will not have it at firſt called *Florentia*, but *Fluentia*, becauſe ſeated upon the flood *Arno*, and ſummoning *Pliny* for a witneſs, who ſays the *Fluentini* are near to the Flood *Arno*, which may be falſe, becauſe *Pliny*'s deſign was to ſhew where the *Florentines* were ſeated, not how they were called, and that word *Fluentini* is very probably corrupted, becauſe *Frontinus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* who wrote almoſt in the times of *Pliny* call it *Florentia*, and the people *Florentini*, for even then in the

Sylla and the Triumvirate ſent Colonies to *Florence*.

Various opinions about the name of *Florence*.

the times of *Tiberius* it was governed according to the cuſtoms of the other Cities of *Italy*, and *Tacitus* relates there came *Florentine* Embaſſadors to the Emperour to beſeech him, that the waters of the pools might not be opened upon their Countrey, nor is it reaſonable to think a City in the ſame time ſhould have two names, I therefore firmly believe it was always called *Florence*, by what ever occaſion it came to be named ſo. And ſo likewiſe by what ever occaſion it took its original, it had certainly its birth under the *Roman* Empire, and in the times of the firſt Emperours began by Hiſtorians to be recorded; and when that Empire was afflicted by Barbarians, *Florence* likewiſe was by *Totila* King of the *Oſtrogoths* deſtroyed, and after two hundred and fifty years rebuilt by *Charlemain*, from which time until the year of *Chriſt*, 1215, it ran the ſame fortune with thoſe who had the command of *Italy*, the firſt of which were the deſcendants of *Charlemain*, then the *Berengarii*, and laſtly the Emperours of *Germany*, as in our general diſcourſe we have ſet forth; nor could the *Florentines* in thoſe times grow great, or act any thing worthy of memory, by reaſon of the potency of thoſe to whoſe Empire they ſubmitted. Notwithſtanding in the year 1010 on S. *Romulus* day, a great Holy-day among the *Fieſolani*, they took and razed *Fieſole*, which either they did by conſent of the Emperour, or becauſe in the time from

Deſtroyed by *Totila*, and rebuilt by *Charlemain*;

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the death of the one, to the election of the other more freedom might be uſed: but after that the Popes aſſumed more authority in *Italy*, and the power of the *German* Emperour decayed; all the Cities of that Province behaved and governed themſelves with leſs reverence to their Prince, inſomuch that in the year 1080, and in the time of *Harry* the Third; *Italy* was reduced between him and the Church into a manifeſt diviſion, notwithſtanding all which, the *Florentines* until the year 1225 kept themſelves united, obeying the Conquerour, and ſeeking no farther Empire than their own ſecurity. But as in our bodies the later infirmities happen, the more dangerous and mortal they are; ſo *Florence*, by ſo much the later it came to be infected with the Factions of *Italy*, by ſo much the more violently was it afflicted with them: The occaſion of the firſt diviſion is very notable and much celebrated by *Dante* and other writers. I will therefore be very brief in the relation of it. There were in *Florence* among other potent families, the *Buondelmonti's* and *Uberti's*, and nigh unto them lived the *Amadei* and *Donati*. There was in the family of the *Donati* a widow very rich, and who had a daughter of an excelling beauty, and moſt charming aſpect, whom in her private thoughts, ſhe had deſigned to marry to Signior *Buondelmonte*, a young Gentleman, and head of that Family; this deſign of hers, whether through

The firſt Diviſion in *Florence*.

through negligence, or out of a belief it was yet time enough, ſhe had never diſcovered to any, till it happened that a marriage was treated and agreed on between *Meſſer Buondelmonte*, and a daughter of one of the *Amadei*, at which this Lady was mightily diſturbed, yet hoping that her daughters beauty might ere the marriage were ſolemnized prevent it, ſeeing *Meſſer Buondelmonte* coming alone towards her houſe, ſhe gets down to the door, her daughter following her, and as he paſſed by ſtopping him, I am glad indeed, (ſaid ſhe) that you are now marrying, though I had reſerved this daughter of mine purpoſely for you; and therewithal puſhing open the door let him ſee her, the Gentleman ſtartled at the beauty of the young Lady, which was indeed extraordinary; and conſidering neither her blood nor fortune, was inferiour to hers to whom he was contracted, kindled immediately in his heart ſuch a fierce deſire of enjoying her, that forgetful of his word and plighted faith, nor thinking of the injury he did in breaking it, nor dreading the ſad conſequences might attend on violated promiſes, makes anſwer, ſince you, ſays he, have reſerved her for me, I ſhould be moſt ingrateful (whileſt it is yet time enough) if I ſhould refuſe her; and ſo without any farther delay he married her; As ſoon as this buſineſs was known, the family of the *Amadei* were filled with rage and indignation, and thoſe of the *Uberti* being

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linkt to them in Affinity, joyned now likewiſe with them, and aſſembling together great numbers of the Kindred, they concluded ſuch an injury, was not to be born without ſhame and reproach; nor to be revenged with leſs then the death of *Meſſer Buondelmonte*. And though ſome of them did diſcourſe and argue the miſchiefs might enſue. *Moſcha Lamberti* told them that he that deliberated many things never concluded any; adding withal that known proverb, *a thing once done has got a head.* Whereupon they gave the conduct and charge of this Murder to *Moſcha Lamberti*, *Stratti Uberti*, *Lambertuccio Amadei*, and *Oderigo Fifanti*. Theſe on *Eaſter* day in the Morning at the hour of the reſurrection, concealed themſelves in one of the Palaces of *Amadei*, Scituate between the Old Bridge and Church of St. *Stephen*, and whilſt Signior *Buondelmonte* paſſed the River upon a white Horſe, careleſly and like a man that believed ſuch injuries, as ſlighting Marriage-vow's, were eaſily to be forgotten; he was by them aſſaulted at the foot of the Bridge under a Statue of *Mars* and ſlain. This aſſaſſinate divided the whole City, and one part joyned with the *Buondelmonti*, and the other with the *Uberti*. And becauſe thoſe Families were very powerful in Houſes, Caſtles and men, they skirmiſhed many years together without being able to expel one the other, and their enmities and hatred, though never pacified, were ſome-

Signior *Buondelmonte* ſlain.

The City divided upon it.

times appeaſed by truce, and by this means (according to new accidents) ſometimes they were quiet, and at other times enraged. Vext with theſe troubles was *Florence*, till the time of *Frederick* the Second, who becauſe he was likewiſe King of *Naples*, perſwaded himſelf that he might augment his power over the Church: and to eſtabliſh his Authority the better in *Tuſcany*, he favoured the *Uberti* and their followers, who ſtrengthened by his countenance drove out the *Buondelmonti*. And thus our City (as all *Italy* had for ſometime before been) was divided into *Guelfes* and *Ghibellines*. Nor do I think it impertinent to ſet down the Families, that were followers of one and the other Faction: Thoſe who adhered to the *Guelfes* were. The *Buondelmonti*, *Nerli*, *Roſſi*, *Freſcobaldi*, *Gherardini*, *Foraboſchi*, *Bagaeſi*, *Gindalotti*, *Sachetti*, *Manieri*, *Lucardeſi*, *Chiaramonti*, *Campiobbeſi*, *Cavalcanti*, *Giandonati*, *Gianſigliazzi*, *Scali*, *Guallerotti*, *Importuni*, *Boſtichi*, *Tornaquinci*, *Vecchietti*, *Toſinghi*, *Arigucci*, *Agli*, *Sitii*, *Adimari*, *Biſdomini*, *Donati*, *Pazzi*, *Della Bella*, *Ardinghi*, *Theobaldi* and *Cerchi*. Thoſe who ſided with the *Ghibellines*, were the *Uberti*, *Mannelli*, *Ubriachi*, *Fifanti*, *Amadei*, *Infanganti*, *Maleſpini*, *Scholari*, *Gindi*, *Galli*, *Caprar'di*, *Lamberti*, *Soldameri*, *Cipriani*, *Toſchi*, *Anueri*, *Palmerini*, *Migliorelli*, *Pigli*, *Barrucci*, *Cattani*, *Agolanti*, *Brunelleſchi*, *Caponſachi*, *Elaſei*, *Abbati*, *Tedaldmi*, *Guiachi* and *Galigari*: And moreover, both to one ſide and the other

Which produces the faction of *Guelfes* and *Ghibellines*.

How the ſeveral Families ſided.

other of theſe Noble Families, many Families of the Commons joyned themſelves, ſo that this peſtilent diviſion infected the whole City. The *Guelfes* thus driven out, retreated into the Vale of *Arno* above the City, where they had many ſtrong Fortreſſes, which in the beſt manner they could they defended againſt the power and force of their Enemies. But *Frederick* dying, thoſe who were the calm and indifferent men in the City, and who had moſt credit with the people, bethought themſelves that it would be much better to reunite this City, than by fomenting their diviſions ruine it, and ſo effectually brought matters about that, the *Guelfes* (waving all injuries) returned, and the *Ghibellines* (laying aſide all ſuſpitions) received them. And thus united, they began to think it high time to ſettle a form of liberty, and put themſelves into a poſture of defence before the next Emperour gained any power: Whereupon they divided the City into ſix Parts, and choſe for their Government twelve Citizens, two for every ſixth part, which they called *Antiani*, or Aldermen, and changed every year. And to remove all occaſions of cavil in giving judgement, they elected two foreign Judges, one of whom they ſtiled the Captain of the people, and the other the *Podeſtà* or Mayor, who were to determine all cauſes happening among the Citizens, as well civil as criminal. And becauſe no Rule nor Government can be ſafe or ſettled

The *Guelfes* expelled retreat into the Vale of *Arno*.

The City reunited.

And form Orders for making themſelves a Free State.

Their Military Orders.

till a defence be provided for it, they eſtabliſhed twenty Colours for the City, and threeſcore and ſixteen for the Country, under which they liſted all the Youth, giving ſtrict orders that every one ſhould repair ready armed to his Colours upon any ſummons from his Captain, or the Aldermen: And they varied their Colours according to their Arms, for one ſort of Enſign had the Croſs-bows, and the Targets another, and every year at *Whitſontide* they gave the Enſigns to new men, and choſe, and gave Command to new Heads or Chieftains of the whole *Militia*. And to give more majeſty to their Army, and knowledge to every one, whither, if repulſed in battle, they might repair for refuge, and being rallyed, again make head againſt the Enemy, they had a large Chariot drawn with two Oxen, covered with red, on the top of which was a white and red Banner planted. And to give yet farther Magnificence and glory to their Arms, they had a Bell called *Martinella*, which continually ſounded a month before they drew out their Forces, to give warning to the Enemies to prepare themſelves for their defence. So much gallantry had men in thoſe days, that whereas now the aſſaulting an enemy by ſurpriſe, is accounted a prudent and generous act, they thought nothing more vile and reproachful. This bell they likewiſe carryed with the Army, by which they ſet their Watches, and gave Signals to their Sentincls. Upon

Their Standard.

Their bravery.

theſe

Theſe Civil and Military Conſtitutions did the *Florentine*'s found their liberty, nor can it be imagined to what authority and power *Florence* in a ſhort time attained, not only becoming Head of *Tuſcany*, but accounted among the chief Cities of *Italy*, and had poſſibly riſen to a vaſter height, had not freſh and frequent diviſions ſtill afflicted it. Under this Government lived the *Florentines* ten years, in which time they forced the *Piſtoleſi*, *Aretini* and *Saneſi*, to make peace with them, and raiſing their Camp from before *Siena* took *Volterra*, diſmantled ſeveral Cities, and carried away the Inhabitants to *Florence*. All which enterprizes were made by counſel of the *Guelphes*, who were able to do much more then the *Ghibellines*, as well becauſe theſe laſt were hated by the people for their proud carriage, when in *Frederick*'s time they governed, as becauſe the others ſided with the Church, which was (more then the Emperour) then beloved; for with the help of the Church they hoped to maintain their liberty, and under the Emperour they feared to loſe it. Yet the *Ghibellines*, ſeeing their Authority decay could not be quiet, but ſought opportunities to reſume the rule over the State; which they thought was put into their hands, when they ſaw *Manfred*, ſon of *Frederick* become Lord of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and that he had much battered the power of the Church. Wherefore they held private intelligence with him

Their firſt acts.

The *Ghibellines* contrive againſt the State.

to regain their own authority, but could not carry things ſo cloſe, but that their practices were diſcovered to the *Antiani*: Whereupon they cited the *Uberti*, who not only refuſed to obey, but taking Arms fortified themſelves in their Houſes. At which the people enraged took Arms, and with the help of the *Guelphes* made them retreat out of *Florence*, and with the whole *Ghibelline* party take ſhelter in *Siena*. From whence they ſent for aid to *Manfred*, King of *Naples*, and by the induſtry of *Meſſer Farniata* of the *Uberti*, the *Guelphes* were by the forces of that King defeated near the River *Arbia*, with ſo dreadful a ſlaughter, that thoſe who eſcaped from this rout fled not to *Florence* (judging their own City loſt) but to *Lucca* for refuge. *Manfred* had made Count *Giordano* General of the Army, he ſent to aid the *Ghibellines*, a man in thoſe times of great reputation in Arms. He after the Victory goes with the *Ghibellines* to *Florence*, and reduced the City abſolutely under the obedience of *Manfred*, annulling the Magiſtracy, and every other Order in which there appeared the leaſt form of liberty; which injury imprudently executed, was entertained with the Univerſal hate of the people, ſo that from being enemies to the *Ghibellines*, they were now become utter abhorrers of them, from whence in time their ruine enſued: And the neceſſity of the Kingdom, calling Count *Giordan* back to *Naples*, he left the Count *Guido Novello*, Lord

The *Uberti* cited and take Arms.

The State overturned by help of *Manfred* King of *Naples*.

Lord of *Caſentino*, Vicar Royal in *Florence*. He calls a Council of *Ghibellines* at *Empoli*, where it was generally concluded that to preſerve the power of the *Ghibelline* party in *Italy*, it was neceſſary to raze *Florence*, as the only City, likely (having its people all *Guelfes*) to recover ſtrength to the Church party. This cruel ſentence given againſt ſo noble a City, was neither by Citizen nor Friend (ſave only *Meſſer Farniata* of the *Uberti*) oppoſed, who openly, and without any Palliation defended it, telling them, That he would never with ſo much pains have run through ſo many perils, had he had other thoughts than to have lived in his native Country, and that he was ſo far now from quitting what he had ſo eagerly ſought after, or refuſing what Fortune had thrown upon him, that he would become (rather than ſubmit to it) a fiercer Enemy to thoſe that ſhould deſign it, than he had ever been to the *Guelphes*; and if any one afraid of his Country ſought its ruine, he doubted not to defend it with the ſame valour, wherewith he had chaſed out the *Guelphes*: Signior *Farniata* was a man of great courage experienced in War, head of the *Ghibellines*, and much eſteemed by *Manfred*, ſo that his authority ended the diſpute, and they began to conſult of other ways, how to preſerve the power in themſelves. The *Guelphes* who fled to *Lucca*, warned by the *Luccheſes* fearful of the Earls threats, went to *Bolonia*, whence by the *Guelphes* of *Parma*,

The razing of *Florence* debated.

Oppoſed by *Farniata Uberti*.

The *Guelphs* fled to *Lucca*, go to assist those at *Parma*.

ma they were invited against the *Ghibellines*, and by their valour having overcome all their enemies, had their Estates given them: so that mounted to riches and honour, and hearing that Pope *Clement* had called in *Charles* of *Anjou* to take away the Kingdom from *Manfred*, they sent Ambassadors to the Pope to offer him their assistance. And the Pope not only received them, but gave them his own Banner, which the *Guelphs* ever since bore in their Arms, and are the same still used in *Florence*. *Manfred* was soon after by *Charles* deprived of his Kingdom and slain; notice of which being arrived among the *Guelphs* at *Florence*, their party grew brisker, and the hands of the *Ghibellines* were weakned. Whereupon they, who together with Earl *Guido*, governed *Florence*, judged it requisite by some good offices to gain that people, they before had incensed with so many injuries, but those remedies (which had they been applyed in due time and order, might have helped, now when coming from necessity) wrought not any good effect, but only hastned their ruine. Yet thinking to gain the peoples friendship, and draw them to their party, they restored to them part of those Honours, and that Authority they had taken from them, and chose thirty six of the Commons of the City, who with two of the Nobles called from *Bologna*, they appointed to reform the Government of the City. These as soon as they met, divided

And the Pope gives them his Banners.

The State of *Florence* in part restored.

ded the City into Trades, and over every Trade appointed a Magiſtrate, who was to adminiſter Juſtice to thoſe under his charge. To every one of theſe companies they appointed a Banner, that under that they might parade when ever there was occaſion of ſervice; theſe at firſt were twelve Companies, ſeven greater and five leſs, afterwards the leſs came to be fourteen, ſo that they were in all, as they are at preſent, twenty one. The thirty ſix Reformers proceeding to other matters for the common good, Earl *Guido* to encourage and pay his Soldiers, deſigned a Tax to be laid on the Citizens: in which he found ſo much difficulty, and averſeneſs in the people, that he durſt not attempt by force to levy what was already impoſed. And thinking now the Government loſt, he ſhut himſelf up with the Chiefs of the *Ghibellines*, and determined to take forceably from the people, what too imprudently he had granted them: And as they were getting their forces into order, the thirty ſix being aſſembled, and the Alarum being given, whereat they affrightned, retired to their houſes, and preſently the Banners of the Companies were ſpread, and many armed men gathered about them. And hearing how Earl *Guido*, with his party were at St. *Johns*, they rendevoured at the Holy Trinity, and made *John Soldanieri* their Leader. The Earl on the other ſide, hearing where the people were, advanced to fight them: Nor did

Earl *Guido* beaten out of *Florence*.

did the people ſhun the skirmiſh, but encountred their enemies near the place now called the Lodge of the *Tornaquinci*, where the Earl was repulſed with the ſlaughter of many of his men, and thereupon ſo daunted, that he began to fear leaſt the enemy ſhould by night aſſail him, and finding his men beaten and out of order kill him. And ſo ſtrongly did this imagination work in him, that without ſeeking any other remedy, he determined rather to ſave himſelf by flight than fight, and contrary to the advice of the heads of that Faction, goes with all his people to *Prato*: but aſſoon (as finding himſelf in a ſecure place) he had caſhiered his fear, he ſaw his error, and would fain have mended it the next morning, and at break of day returns with all his people to *Florence*, to enter that City by force, which his cowardiſe had deſerted: but his deſigns failed him, for that people, who might perhaps have found it a hard matter to have forced him thence, with eaſe now kept him out; ſo that with grief and ſhame he goes to *Caſentino*, and the *Ghibellines* returned to their Villages.

The City once more reunited.

The people thus remaining conquerous by the encouragement of thoſe who loved the common good, they next conſulted the reunion of the City, and recalled all the Citizens as well *Guelfs* as *Ghibellines* which had been expelled: thus returned the *Guelfs* four years after there being driven out, and the *Ghibellines* were alſo pardoned their late

ſite freſh injury, and reſtored to their Countrey, but were ſtill violently hated both by the *Guelfs*, and the people, for thoſe could not cancel the remembrance of their Baniſhment, and theſe too well kept in memory their tyranny, whileſt they lived under their Government: ſo that neither one nor the other could have quiet minds. And whileſt *Florence* was in this wavering condition, a rumour was ſpread abroad that *Conradine* Nephew of *Manfred* was coming with an Army out of *Germany* to the conqueſt of *Naples*, whereupon the *Ghibellines* began to ſwell with hopes they might once more regain their authority; and the *Guelfs* conſulted how to ſecure themſelves from their enemies, and ſent to *Charles* for aids to defend themſelves from *Conradine* in his paſſage; the coming of theſe forces from *Charles* made the *Guelfs* become inſolent, and ſo affrighted the *Ghibellines*, that two days before their arrival, without ſtaying to be driven out they fled. *Charles* and the *Guelfs*.

The *Ghibellines* gone, the *Guelfs* made new orders for the Government of the City, and choſe twelve heads, which ſhould aſſiſte in the magiſtracy for two months, whom they called not *Aldermen*, but *Goodmen*; next to them was a Council of eighty Citizens, which they called the *Credenza*, and after them one hundred and eighty Commons, thirty for every diviſion, and theſe together with the *Credenza*, and the the twelve *Good-men* they called the General

They make new rules of Government in *Florence*.

ral Council. They ſetled beſides another Council of one hundred and twenty Citizens, Nobles and Commons, by which they gave perfection to all things debated in the other Council; and which diſpoſed of Offices in the Common-wealth; this Government thus eſtabliſhed, the faction of the *Guelfs* further fortified themſelves with Magiſtrates and other Officers that they might with more authority defend themſelves againſt the *Ghibellines*, whoſe goods they divided into three parts, the one of which they aſſigned to the publick, the next to the Magiſtrates of the Diviſions, called Captains, and the third to the *Guelfs* in recompence of the loſſes they had ſuſtained: The Pope likewiſe to uphold the faction of the *Guelfs* in *Tuſcany*, makes King *Charles* Imperial Vicar of *Tuſcany*. Thus the *Florentines* by virtue of this new Government, maintaining their reputation within, by Laws, and without, by Arms. In the *interim* the Pope dyes, and after a long diſpute which laſted two years, Pope *Gregory* the Tenth was elected, who having long reſided in *Syria*, and being there at the time of his Election, unacquainted with the humours of the Factions did not look upon the *Guelfs* with that eſteem his predeceſſors had done; and therefore being come to *Florence* in his paſſage to *France*, thought it the office of a good Paſtor to reunite the City, and ſo far contributed to it, that the *Florentines* were

The *Guelfs* divide the *Ghibellines* goods.

Pope *Gregory* not ſo kind to the *Florentines*.

content

tent that the Syndicks or Commiſſioners of the *Ghibellines* ſhould be admitted to mediate their return; and though the matter was concluded upon, yet the *Ghibellines* were ſo terrfied that they durſt not come home; the fault of all which the Pope laid upon the City, and in anger excommunicates them, under which contumacy they lay all the life of that Pope, but after his death they were by *Innocent* the Fifth abſolved. *Nicolas* the Third of the houſe of *Orſini* was next exalted to the papacy, and becauſe the Popes were always jealous of thoſe who grew potent in *Italy*, (ſo that though by the Churches means and favour they arrived to their greatneſs, yet they always ſought to humble and abaſe them) thence ſprung the original of thoſe many tumults and variety of troubles that enſued; for the fear of one grown ſtrong, made the Church interpoſe a weaker, and as ſoon as he was raiſed to power, fearing and feared, they ſtrove again to level him: this made one Pope *ſnatch* the Kingdom from *Manfred*, and give it to *Charles*, and this made another, grown jealous of him, ſeek his ruine, for now *Nicolas* the third moved by this miſtruſtful humour, by the Emperours means cauſed *Charles* to be removed from the Government of *Tuſcany*; and in to that Province under the Imperial Commiſſion was ſent *Latinus* the Popes Legate. *Florence* was at this time in a very deplorable condition, for the Nobility of the *Guelf* Faction

Excommunicates them, and *Innocent* the Fifth abſolves them.

King *Charles* removed from the Government of *Tuſcany*; and the Popes Legate ſent thither.

Faction were grown insolent, braving and fearless of the Magistracy, so that every day murthers and other violences were committed, and the offenders escaped unpunished, being still favoured by some one of the Nobility; to bridle these inconveniences and riots, the heads of the people thought it convenient to call home those were fled, which gave opportunity to the Legate to reunite the City, and the *Ghibellines* returned, and instead of the twelve Governours they made fourteen, of each party seven, who were to rule a year, and be elected by the Pope. *Florence* submitted two years to this Government, till Pope *Martin* a Frenchman held the chair, who restored King *Charles* to all that authority *Nicolas* had deprived him off; whereupon of a sudden the Factions were again revived in *Tuscany*, for the *Florentines* took Arms against the Emperours Governour, and as well to deprive the *Ghibellines* of the Government, as to bridle the Nobility ordained a new order of Government: it was now in the year 1282, and the City Companies, since Magistrates were assigned them, and banners given them, were grown into great repute, whereupon by their own authority they ordained that instead of the fourteen, there should be three created, under the name of *Priors*, who should have the Government of the Republique for two months, and might be chosen out of the Gentlemen, or Commons, provided they were

New Factions.

New sort of Government

were Merchants or Tradeſmen: reducing afterwards the firſt Magiſtrates to ſix, that out of every Ward there might be one, which order was continued till the year 1342, that the City was reduced into quarters, and the *Priors* made nine; though in that interval of time by reaſon of ſundry accidents they ſometimes made twelve. This Magiſtracy occaſioned (as in time will appear) the ruine of the Nobility, who were by the people upon various occaſions firſt excluded, and afterwards without any manner of reſpect oppreſſed: to which the Nobles themſelves at firſt contributed, by not ſcorning to be united to the people, and each party too eagerly coveting to ſnatch the Government one from the other, they all loſt it. They appointed this Magiſtracy a palace for their continual reſidence, it having formerly been the cuſtom for the Magiſtrates and Councils to aſſemble in the Churches, they likewiſe honoured them with Sergeants and other neceſſary Miniſters, and though at firſt they only called them *Priors*, yet for the greater Magnificence they added afterwards the ſtile of Lords, terming them the *Signory*. The *Florentines* were now for a while quiet at home, during which they made war with the *Aretini*, becauſe they had chaſed out the *Guelfs*, and in *Campaldino* they happily overcame them. And the City increaſing in men and riches, they thought fit likewiſe to enlarge their walls, and brought them into

The *Florentines* war with the *Aretini*;

And enlarge their walls.

into the compaſs they now are, for at firſt its Diameter was only that ſpace between the old Bridge and S. *Laurence*: War without and peace within had almoſt extinguiſh'd the Factions of *Ghibellines* and *Guelfs*; only thoſe humours (naturally incident to all Cities) between the Nobility and the people were here inflamed, for the people being deſirous to live according to Law, and the Nobles ambitious of Command, it is not poſſible they can ever agree together. This humour whileſt the *Ghibellines* kept them in awe was not diſcovered, but as ſoon as they were tamed, it broke violently forth, and every day ſome of the people were injured, and the Laws and Magiſtrates were not powerful enough to vindicate them, for every Nobleman with his Kindred, Friends and Followers defended himſelf from the power of the Priors and Captains: the Heads therefore of the Companies deſirous to remedy this inconvenience, made proviſion that every *Signory* at the entrance into their Office, ſhould create a **Galfoniere* of Juſtice out of the Commons, who ſhould be ready with his Standard and men at Arms to aſſiſt Juſtice whenever by the Priors or Captains he was called, the firſt choſen was *Ubaldo Ruffoli*; he brought forth the Standard, and pull'd down the houſe of *Galetti*, becauſe one of that Family had kill'd a Commoner in *France*, 'twas eaſie for the companies of Tradeſmen to make this order, for the enmities

Diſſentions between Nobles and Commons.

* *The word ſignifies a Standard-bearer.*

mities among the Nobles were awake, and they ſlept, never thinking of the proviſion made againſt them, till they ſaw the ſeverity of this Execution, which ſtroke a terrour into them at firſt, but yet ſoon after they returned to their inſolencies, for ſome of them being always of the Lords *Priors*, they had opportunities of hindring the *Gonfaloniere* from doing his Office; and beſides that the accuſer wanting Teſtimony could find none durſt bear witneſs againſt the Nobles, ſo that in a ſhort time *Florence* fell into the ſame diſorders, and the people ſtill received from the great men the ſame injuries; for the Judgment was gentle, and the ſentence ſlowly or never executed: whereupon the people not knowing what courſe to take; *Gianodella Bella* of moſt noble blood, but a lover of the liberty of the City, encouraged the heads of the companies to reform the Government, and by his advice they ordained that the *Gonfaloniere* ſhould reſide with the *Priors*, and have four thouſand men under his command; they likewiſe incapacitated all the Nobles of ſitting among the Lords *Priors*, bound all the accomplices and acceſſaries of the crime in the ſame puniſhments with the principal, and made publick fame ſufficient Teſtimony to give Judgment: by theſe Laws which they called *the Ordinances of Juſtice*, the people gained a mighty reputation, and *Giano della Bella* as great hatred, for the Nobles bore him not a little ill will, as the deſtroyer

Severe Laws againſt the Nobility.

ſtroyer of their power, and the rich Citizens envied him, as thinking he had too much authority, which upon the firſt occaſion was fully demonſtrated. It happened that a Commoner was in a ſcuffle ſlain, wherein many Nobles were together, and becauſe *Meſſer Corſo Donati* who was amongſt them appeared the boldeſt, the crime was attributed to him: wherefore the Captain of the people took him, but however matters went, either that *Corſo* was not guilty, or that the Captain durſt not condemn him, acquitted he was, which acquitment highly diſpleaſed the people, ſo that taking Arms, they run to *Giano della Bella*'s houſe, and beſought him he would be a means to ſee thoſe Laws obſerved, which himſelf had invented; *Giano* who deſired that *Corſo* ſhould be puniſhed never made them lay down their Arms, as many thought he ought to have done, but adviſed them to go to the Signory to make their complaint, and deſire right to be done, upon which the people enraged (judging themſelves wronged by the Captain, and ſlighted by *Giano*) went not to the Signory, but to the Captains Palace, and took and ſacked it, which action mightily diſpleaſed the Citizens, and thoſe who ſought the ruine of *Giano*, laid all the fault upon him, and ſo among the Lords that compoſed the ſucceeding Signory, there happening ſome that were his enemies, he was accuſed to the Captain as a mover of the people to inſurrections,

and

and whileſt his cauſe was debating, the people armed themſelves, offering to defend him againſt his enemies the Lords; *Giano* would not make trial of theſe popular favours, nor commit his life to the Magiſtracy, for he knew the malice of one, and the inconſtancy of the other; ſo that to take away from his enemies an opportunity of injuring him, and from his friends of diſobliging their Countrey, he determined to depart, and to give place to envy, and ſo to free the Citizens of the fears they had of him, and leaving that City, which with ſo much trouble and hazard he had freed from the ſlavery of the great men, he caſt himſelf into voluntary exile. After his departure the Nobility began to conceive hopes of recovering their Dignity, and judging their misfortune to have accrewed by their Diviſions, uniting themſelves, ſent two of their number to the Signory, whom they believed favoured them, to deſire them to be content to moderate in ſome meaſure the ſeverity of ſome Laws made againſt them; which demand, aſſoon as it was diſcovered, ſtirred up the minds of the people, for they were doubtful leaſt the Lords ſhould grant their requeſt, and thus between the deſire of the Nobles, and ſuſpicion of the people, arms were on both ſides taken up: the Nobles made head in three places, at S. *Johns*, in the new Market, and in the place called *Mozzi*, and under three Leaders, *Meſſer Foreſe Adimari*, *Meſſer Vanni de*

The Nobility and Commons take Arms.

Mozzi and *Meſſer Geri Spini*, and the people in mighty numbers flock'd to their Colours, under the palace of the Lords *Priors*, who then dwelt near the Church of *Proculus*: and becauſe the people had ſome ſuſpicion of the *Signory*, they deputed ſix Citizens to govern with them: whileſt both parties thus ſtood prepared for the skirmiſh, ſome as well of the people, as of the Nobles, together with ſome religious men of great repute went between them to mediate a pacification, putting the Nobles in mind, "That the honours they were deprived of, "and the Laws made againſt them were occaſioned by their own pride, and haughty "carriage, and that now to take Arms to "repeal by force, what their own diſcords "and ill managements had cauſed to be enacted againſt them, could produce no "other effect than the ruine of their Country, and the making their own condition "worſe, that the people were ſuperiour to "them both in numbers, hatred and riches, "and that that Nobility by which they "thought themſelves ſo far advanced above others, was but an empty name, "when men came to blows, for the Noblemans ſword cut no deeper than the Commons, nor could Titles defend them againſt multitudes. On the other ſide they repreſented to the people, "That it "was not convenient to purſue victories to "extremes, nor wiſdom to force men to "deſpair, for he who hopes no good, fears "no

A pacification endeavoured.

" no ill. That they ought to conſider " that the Nobility were the men, who in " times of war had honoured that City, " and therefore it was not juſt to perſecute " them with ſo much hatred; and as the " Nobles had eaſily condeſcended to be de- " prived of enjoying the ſupreme Magiſtra- " cy, but could not endure it ſhould be in " every ones power to drive them at plea- " ſure out of their Countrey, it was highly " convenient to mitigate ſomething of " that unlimited ſeverity, and by ſuch a " good Office make them lay down their " Arms: that it was but a vain preſum- " ption to attempt the fray in confidence of " their numbers, ſince it had been often " ſeen the many had been overcome by the " few. The people were in many minds, ſome would needs fight as a thing that muſt one day be done, and therefore it was better to do it now, than to ſtay till their enemies were ſtronger, alleadging that if they could believe that the mitigation of the Laws could content the Nobles, it would do well to mitigate them, but their pride was ſuch, that they would never be at quiet till they were forced to it: others wiſer and more peaceably inclined, were of opinion that the moderating of the Laws was of no great importance, but coming to a bickering of utmoſt concern to both, inſomuch that their opinion prevailed, and it was enacted that in accuſations againſt Noblemen, proof by witneſſes was neceſſary: laying hereupon

Arms laid down, but jealouſies continue.

down their arms both parties ſtill remained full of ſuſpicion, and fortified themſelves with Caſtles and Arms; and the people reformed the Government, reducing it to a leſſer number, out of an opinion they had that thoſe Lords were favourers of the Nobility, the chief of thoſe remained were *Mancini*, *Magolotti*, *Altoviti*, *Peruzzi* and *Ceretani*. The State thus ſetled, for the greater magnificence and ſecurity of the Lords, in the year 1298 they founded their palace, and made a Court of the houſes formerly belonging to the *Uberti*. At the ſame time likewiſe they began to build the publick priſons, all which buildings were in few years finiſhed; nor ever was the City in a more magnificent or happy condition than now, abounding in men, buildings and reputation, the trained bands of the City being thirty thouſand, and thoſe of the Country ſeventy thouſand; all *Tuſcany* partly as Subjects, partly as friends obeyed them. And though between the Nobles and the people there ſtill remained ſome grudge and jealouſie, it never produced any malignant effects, but they lived in peace and union, which happy tranquility had it not been diſturbed by new enmities within, need have doubted nothing from abroad, for the City ſtood then upon ſuch terms as made it fearleſs either of the Emperour or its own Exiles, and might vye power with any other State in *Italy*: but thoſe miſchiefs which could not be done from abroad,

were

were by inteſtine diſſentions executed. There were in *Florence* two Families, the *Cerchi* and the *Donati*, both of them in Nobility, Riches, and men very powerful, between theſe, being Neighbours, ſome diſguſts had happened, but not ſo great as to bring them to extremities, and poſſibly they might have been quite extinguiſhed, had not the ill humours by other accidents been augmented. Among the Prime Families of *Piſtoia* was that of the *Cancellieri*, it happened that *Lori*, Son of *William*; and *Geri*, Son of *Bertaccio*, all of that Family being at play fell to words; and paſſing farther, *Geri* happened to receive a ſlight wound, which accident much diſpleaſed *Meſſer William*, who imagining by humility to remove the ſcandal increaſed it: For he commanded his Son to go to the Father of the wounded Gentleman, and ask him pardon; *Lori* obeys his Father. But this act of ſo much humanity ſweetned not at all the bitter mind of *Bertaccio*, but cauſing his ſervants to lay hold on *Lori*, to add the more contempt to the action, he cauſed his hand to be cut off upon a Dreſſer: withal adding, *Go back to thy Father, and tell him that wounds are to be ſalved with ſteel, and not with words.* This barbarous cruelty ſo much enraged *Meſſer William*, that he made all his friends take arms to revenge it, and *Bertaccio* armed likewiſe to defend himſelf; and not only that Family, but the whole City

New diſſentions in *Florence*.

The occaſion ſprung from *Piſtoia*.

The great quarrel of the *Bianchi* and *Neri*.

City of *Piſtoia* was divided. And becauſe the *Cancellieri* were deſcended of Signior *Cancellieri*, who had two wives, whereof one was named *Biancha* (which ſignifies White) thoſe deſcended of her called themſelves *Bianchi*, and the other to take a name contrary to that, called themſelves *Neri* (which ſignifies Black.) There happened many fatal bickerings between them with great ſlaughter of men, and ruine of houſes, and not finding a way to reconciliation among themſelves, weary of doing miſchief, and deſirous to put an end to their diſcords, or by dividing others with them, increaſe them, they came to *Florence*, and the *Neri* having had acquaintance with the *Donati*, were by them favoured; whereupon the *Bianchi*, that they might have a powerful prop to uphold them againſt the *Donati*, had recourſe to Mr. *Veri d' Cerchi*, a man no way, nor in any quality inferiour to *Meſſer Corſo Donati*. Ths humour thus brought from *Piſtoia*, revived and increaſed the ancient hatred between the *Cerchi* & *Donati*, which was already ſo apparent, that the Lords *Priors*, and many good Citizens were every minute in doubt leſt they ſhould come to arms, & with themſelves divide the whole City. They therefore addreſſed themſelves to the Pope, beſeeching him by his authority to apply that remedy, to theſe growing humours, which it was beyond their power to do: the Pope ſends for *Meſſer Veri*, and charges him to make peace with the *Donati*, at which he ſeems much to wonder, telling him

him that he had no enmity with them, and becauſe making peace preſuppoſes a war, he did not underſtand how peace was to be made, ſince there was no war between them. *Veri* therefore returning from *Rome* without any other concluſion, the humours ſwell'd to ſuch a height, that they were ready upon any ſlight occaſion, as ſoon afterwards they did to break out. It was in the month of *May* when on Holy-days they uſe publick ſports, and Dancing in the Streets of *Florence*, and ſome young Gentlemen, as well of the *Donati* as their friends, being on horſe-back, ſtood to ſee ſome women dance near the Place of the holy Trinity, whither ſoon after came ſome of the *Cerchi*, accompanied with many other Gentlemen, and not knowing the *Donati* that were before them, but deſirous to ſee the ſport ſpurr'd up their Horſes amongſt them, and a little crouded upon them, at which the *Donati* thinking themſelves affronted drew their ſwords, and the *Cerchi* bravely anſwered them, and after many wounds given, and taken on both ſides, they parted. This diſorder was of very ſad conſequence for the whole City, as well people as Nobility was divided, and the parties took the names of *Bianchi* and *Neri:* The heads of the *Bianchi* were the *Cerchi*, and to them adhered the *Adimari*, the *Abbati*, part of the *Toſinghi*, *Bardi*, *Roſſi*, *Freſcobaldi*, *Nerli*, and *Mannelli:* All the *Mozzi*, *Scali*, *Gerrardini*, *Cavalcanti*, *Maleſpini*, *Boſtichi*, *Giandonati*,

Florence divided into *Bianchi* and *Neri*.

donati, *Vecchieti*, and *Arriguezzi*. To theſe many Families of the people, and all the *Ghibellines* in *Florence* adhered, ſo that for the mighty number that followed them, they had, as it were, the whole Government of the City. The *Donati* on the other ſide were Chiefs of the *Neri*, and with them joyned that part of the abovementioned Families, which followed not the *Bianchi*, and beſides all the *Pazzi*, *Biſdomini*, *Manieri*, *Bagueſe*, *Tornaquinci*, *Spini*, *Buondelmonti*, *Gianfigliazzi*, *Bruncelleſchi*, nor did this contagion only infect the City, but the whole Country likewiſe was divided. Whereupon the Captains of the Diviſions, and whoever was a lover of the *Guelphs*, and the republick began to fear leſt this new diviſion ſhould, together with the ruine of the City, revive the power of the *Ghibellines*, and ſent again to Pope *Boniface* to conſult of a remedy, unleſs he would have that City, which had always been the Buckler of the Church, ruined or turned *Ghibelline*. Whereupon the Pope ſends *Matthew d' Aquaſparta*, Cardinal *Portueſe*, Legat to *Florence*, who becauſe he found the *Bianchi* high and ſtomackful, for that they being the greater party ſtood leaſt in aw, he goes in anger from *Florence*, and excommunicates it; ſo that he left the City in a greater confuſion than it was before his coming thither. And now all men having heart-burnings in their breſts: It happened that at a Funeral where there were

The Pope beſought to finde a remedy to compoſe theſe bloody diſſentions.

were a great many of the *Cerchi* and *Donati*, they came to words, and thence to blows, though this happened to be only a tumult, and ſoon appeaſed: But every one being returned to their houſes, the *Cerchi* reſolved to aſſault the *Donati*, and with great numbers went to ſearch them out; but by the valour of *Meſſer Corſo* they were repulſed, and many of the people wounded; the City was all in Arms; the Lords and the Laws were trampled on by the fury of the Stronger; the wiſeſt and beſt Citizens lived in jealouſie and fear; the *Donati* on their part feared the moſt, becauſe they could do the leaſt; therefore to provide the beſt they could for themſelves, *Meſſer Corſo* aſſembling with the other Heads of the *Neri*, and the Captains of the Diviſions agreed to requeſt of the Pope, that one of the Blood-Royal might be ſent to reform *Florence*, hoping by that means to overcome the *Bianchi*. This aſſembly and debate was told to the *Priors*, and by the adverſe party, aggravated as a conſpiracy againſt the liberty of the City; and both parts being in Arms, the *Signory* (of whoſe number *Dante* then was one) by his counſel and prudence took heart, and armed the people, to whom many out of the Country joyning, they at length forced the Heads of both parties to lay down Arms, and confined *Meſſer Corſo Donati*, and many that took part with the *Neri*: and to ſhow that they were not partial in judgement, they likewiſe

wiſe confined ſome of the *Bianchi*, all which ſoon afterwards upon their pretences of honeſt occaſions they releaſed. *Meſſer Corſo* with his adherents, becauſe they thought the Pope favourable to their party, went to *Rome*, and the requeſts they had before made in writing to the Pope, they now by word of mouth renewed. There happened then to be in the Court of *Rome*; *Charles* of *Valois*, brother to the King of *France*, who was invited by the King of *Naples* to make an invaſion of *Sicily*. The Pope therefore thought convenient (being ſo earneſtly preſſed by the expulſed *Florentines* fled thither) that till the ſeaſon were more proper for the Sea, he ſhould go to *Florence*.

Charles of Valois ſent by the Pope to Florence.

Charles accordingly comes, and though the *Bianchi*, who now ruled all were jealous of him, yet being Head of the *Guelphs*, and ſent by the Pope, they durſt not obſtruct his coming, but to engage his friendſhip, gave him authority to diſpoſe of the City at his pleaſure. *Charles* having this Authority, Arms all his friends and confederates, which created ſuch a jealouſie in the people, that he deſigned to deprive them of their Liberty, that every one took Arms and ſtood in the entrance of their houſes, to be in readineſs if *Charles* made the leaſt motion. The *Cerchi*, and the Heads of the *Bianchi* (having been ſometime Heads of the Republick) had by their proud behaviour made themſelves univerſally hated, which encouraged *MeſſerCorſo*, and others

fled

fled thence with him, to return to *Florence*, the rather becauſe they were favoured by *Charles*, and the Captains of the Wards. And when the City, out of fear of *Charles*, was all in Arms: *Corſo* with his fled friends, and many others that followed him, entred *Florence* without any impediment: And though *Veri de Cerchi* was adviſed and encouraged to oppoſe him, yet he would not do it, ſaying that the people of *Florence*, againſt whom he came, ſhould chaſtiſe him, but it fell out quite contrary, for he was received and not chaſtiſed by them, and *Meſſer Veri* to ſave himſelf conſtrained to flie, for *Meſſer Corſo*, as ſoon as he had forced the gate of *Pinti*, drew up at great St. *Peters*, a place near to his houſe, and having got together multitudes of friends and people, who deſirous of novelty flockt to him, firſt cleared the Priſons of all that either upon private or publick accounts were impriſoned; then he forced the Lords to return as private perſons to their houſes, and chuſe new ones from among the people favourers of the *Neri*: And for five days imployed his forces in ſacking the houſes of the principal men of the party of the *Bianchi*. The *Cerchi* and other Chiefs of their faction were gone out of the City, and retired into ſtrong places, ſeeing *Charles* againſt them, and the moſt part of the people their enemies. And whereas before they would never follow the advice of the Pope, they were forced

The *Neri* prevail.

And the *Bianchi* flee.

to

to flee to him for ſuccour, repreſenting to him that *Charles* was come to breed diviſion, and not to unite *Florence*. Whereupon the Pope ſent again his Legat *Matthew de Aquaſparta*, who made peace between the *Cerchi* and *Donati*, and confirmed it by new alliances and intermarriages, but being deſirous that the *Bianchi* ſhould likewiſe have ſhare in office and command; the *Neri* who had got the Government into their hands, would not admit it, whereupon he departed from *Florence* with as little ſatisfaction, and no leſs anger than before, leaving the City for its diſobedience excommunicated. So both factions continued ſtill in *Florence*, and both diſcontented. The *Neri* ſeeing their enemies ſo near them were angry and jealous, leſt with their ruine they ſhould ſnatch again from them their Honours and Authority. To which anger and natural jealouſie, they added new injuries. *Meſſer Nicholas Cerchi*, with many of his friends, going to his Eſtate in the Country, was by *Simon*, Son of *Meſſer Corſo Donati* met at the *Affrican* Bridge and aſſaulted, the fray was bloody, and doleful to both ſides in the end, for *Nicholas* was ſlain, and *Simon* dyed next night of his wounds. This ſcuffle diſturbed the City afreſh, and though the party of the *Neri* were moſt in the fault, yet were they by thoſe then governed and defended. And before judgement was given, there was a conſpiracy diſcovered to have been held by the *Bianchi* with *Peter Ferrante*, a

The Popes Nuntio makes a fickle reconciliation.

Baron

Baron of *Charles*'s, with whom they had plotted to be reſtored to the government, which thing came to light, by Letters written from the *Cerchi* to him; though it was the opinion of many that the Letters were counterfeit, and produced by the *Donati* to varniſh over that diſrepute they had got by the death of *Nicholas*: However the *Cerchi* were all confined, together with all their followers of the Faction of the *Bianchi* (amongſt whom was *Dante* the Poet) their goods put to ſale, and their houſes razed to the ground: Thoſe that ſaved themſelves, with many *Ghibellines* that adhered to their party, went up and down to ſundry places, with new troubles ſeeking out new Fortunes. And *Charles* having done what he came to do at *Florence*, returned to the Pope to purſue his enterprize againſt *Sicily*; In which he proved neither wiſer nor honeſter than he had been in *Florence*; ſo that in the end with diſgrace and the loſs of moſt of his Army, he returned into *France*. *Florence* after *Charles* his departure lived very quietly: Only *Meſſer Gorſo* was unquiet within himſelf, becauſe he held not that degree in the City he thought becoming him. But on the contrary, the Government being popular, he beheld the adminiſtration of affairs committed to many much his inferiours, and incited by theſe troubleſome paſſions, he caſt about how by an honeſt pretence he might juſtifie the diſhoneſty of his heart; calumniating many Citizens who

Charles returns from *Florence* to *Rome*.

had had the administration of publick monies, as if they had converted it to their private use, and proposing it as convenient to find them out and punish them. This opinion was seconded by many, who had desires like his, towhich was added the igrance of many, who believed *Messer Corso* moved to this out of love to his Country: On the other side, the wronged Citizens having the favour of the people, defended themselves, and after many disputes, to blows they came. On one side were *Messer Corso*, and *Messer Lottieri*, Bishop of *Florence*, with many Nobles and some Commons; and on the other side, the *Signiory* with the most part of the people, so that the scuffle was in many parts of the City at once. And the *Signiory* seeing what hazard they were like to run, sent to *Lucca* for aid, and presently all the people of *Lucca* were come to *Florence*, by whose authority things were for the present composed, the tumults quieted, and the people setled in their State and Liberty, without any punishment of the Authors of the Sedition.

New civil broils in *Florence*.

The Pope had heard of these Tumults in *Florence*, and sent his Legat *Nicholas de Prato* thither; he being a man both for his Birth, Degree, Learning and Manners of great reputation, gained presently so much credit, that they gave him authority to reform and settle the State as he pleased: And because he was a Native *Ghibelline*, he designed to restore those were banished.

The Pope sends *Nicholas de Prato* Legat to *Florence*.

But

But he first thought fit to gain the Commons, and therefore restored the ancient companies of the people, which order much increased their power, and quelled that of the great men. Thus the Legat thinking he had obliged the multitude, designs next to restore those were fled, and after trying many ways, was not only unsuccessful in them all, but fell under such jealousies of those that governed, that he was forced to depart, & full of indignation returned to the Pope, leaving the City of *Florence* in confusion, and excommunicated. Nor was it only with one evil humour, but with many that this City was infested, there being at one time the factions of the Nobles and People, of the *Guelphes* and *Ghibellines*, and of the *Bianchi* and *Neri*. And now again was the whole Town in Arms, and continual skirmishes happened. And the first that moved this new broil were the *Medici*, and the *Junii*, who in favour of the Rebels had disclosed themselves to, and joyned with the Legat: So that there was now fighting in many parts of *Florence* at once. And to add to these miseries happened a fire, which broke out first in the Gardens of St *Michael* in the Abbots house, and from thence spread it self into the houses of the *Caponsacchi*, and burnt them, together with the houses of the *Mozzi*, the *Aniceri*, the *Toschi*, *Cipriani*, *Lomberti* and *Cavalcanti*, and all the new Market, from thence it got into the street, called *Porta Sancta Maria*, and burnt

A great fire in *Florence*.

it all, and wheeling about by the old Bridge, burnt the houſes of the *Gerardini*, *Pulci*, *Amadei*, and *Lucardeſi*, and with theſe ſo many more, that the number amounted to 1700 or more. It was the opinion of many, that in the heat of the ſcuffle this fire happened by chance: But others affirmed that it was kindled by the Abbot *Neri* Prior of St. *Peter Scarraggio*, a diſſolute fellow given over to all wickedneſs, who ſeeing the people ingaged in fighting, deſigned to act a villany, not to be remedied whilſt men were otherwiſe imployed; and that his miſchievious intent might have the better ſucceſs, he threw the fire into his
1304. conſorts houſe. It was in the year 1304, when *Florence* was thus afflicted with fire and ſword. *Meſſer Corſo*, only among ſo many tumults was not in Arms, judging he might by keeping quiet, the eaſier come to be made Umpire between both parties, when weary of fighting they ſhould incline to an agreement: yet they laid down their Arms, more becauſe they were glutted with miſery, than that they had any deſire of Union, the only event was, that the Rebels did not return, and that the party favouring them had the worſt of it. The Legat returned to *Rome*, and hearing of theſe new troubles, perſwaded the Pope that if he would unite *Florence*, he muſt ſend for twelve of the principal Citizens to come to him, whereby what nouriſhed the miſchief, being removed, it would be the eaſier to extinguiſh it.

This

this council the Pope accepted, and the Citizens ſummoned, obeyed; among whom was Signior *Corſo Donati*: after whoſe departure, the Legate let thoſe were fled out of the City know, that now was their time (whilſt the *Florentines* were deprived of their chiefes) to return, whereupon the Rebels making all the force they could, came to *Florence*, and entring by the wall not yet quite finiſhed, marched as far as S. *John*'s place. 'Twas remarkable that thoſe who but a little before had fought for their return (when unarmed they entreated to be reſtored to their Countrey) now ſeeing them return armed, and endeavour to poſſeſs the City by force, (ſo much did they eſteem common good, before private friendſhip) took arms againſt them, and uniting themſelves with the reſt of the people, forced them to return from whence they came. Theſe people loſt their deſign by leaving part of their men at *Laſtra*, and not ſtaying for *Toloſetto Uberti*, who with three hundred horſe was to come from *Piſtoia*, for they thought celerity rather than ſtrength was to get them the victory: So it often happens in enterprizes, that delay takes away the opportunity, and haſt the power. The Rebels gone, *Florence* relapſed into its old Diviſions, and to take away the authority of the family of the *Cavalcanti*, ſeized by force on the *Stinche*, a Caſtle ſcituate in the *vale de greve*, anciently belonging to that Family; and becauſe

The Kebels attempt to poſſeſs themſelves of the City.

But are repulſed.

thoſe that were taken in it were the firſt that were put into the priſons newly erected, they called thoſe priſons from the name of the place whence they were brought, the *Stinche*, which name they to this day retain. The heads of the Republick reſtored likewiſe the companies of the people, and gave them the banners, under which the companies of the Trades firſt drew together, and they entituled the chiefeſt of them Standard-bearers of the Companies, and Colleagues of the Lords, and appointed them to aſſiſt the Signory againſt tumults with their arms, and in peace with their Council; to the two ancient Rectors or Governours they joined an Executioner, who together with *Gonfalonieri*, or Standard-bearers were to proceed againſt the inſolencies of the great men. In the mean time the Pope dyed, and *Meſſer Corſo* and the others were returned, and the City might have lived in peace, had it not been afreſh diſturbed by the reſtleſs mind of *Corſo*. This man to gain himſelf reputation was always contradictory to whatever was the opinion of thoſe in authority, and ſtill made his own authority comply with whatever he ſaw was the inclination of the people; and of all diſſentions and novelties he was the head, and to him for aſſiſtance run all thoſe who deſired to obtain ſome extraordinary thing, wherefore many Citizens of repute hated him, and this hatred increaſed in ſuch manner that the party of

the

the *Neri* fell into open Diviſion, for *Corſo* valued himſelf on his private power and authority, and his adverſaries on the Common-wealths; but ſuch was the awe his preſence carried with it, that every one feared him; however to lift him from the peoples favour they took a ſure and ready courſe, which was by ſpreading abroad that he deſigned to uſurp the Tyranny, and that it was the eaſier to perſwade them to, becauſe his courſe of life exceeded all moderate and civil bounds, which opinion increaſed, becauſe he now married a daughter of *Uguccio* of *Fagiuola*, head of the *Ghibellines* and *Bianchi*, and very powerful in *Tuſcany*; aſſoon as this marriage came to be known, it gave ſuch heart to his adverſaries, that they took arms againſt him, and the people were ſo far from defending him that moſt of them joined with his enemies: the heads of his adverſaries were *Roſſa della Toſa*, *Pazzini de Pazzi*, *Geri Spini*, and *Berto Brunelleſchi*, theſe with their followers gathered together in Arms before the Palace of the Lords, and by their order put in an accuſation to *Peter Branca* Captain of the people againſt *Meſſer Corſo*, as a man who by the aſſiſtance of *Uguccio* ſought to make himſelf Tyrant; upon which he was cited, and preſently for contempt adjudged a Rebel: nor was there any longer time ſpent between the accuſation and the ſentence than the ſpace of two hours: Judgment thus given, the

Lords with the company of the people, with banners flying went to find him out. *Meſſer Corſo* on mean while, though he ſaw himſelf forſaken by many of his own friends, ſentence given againſt him, the Lords with their Authority, and multitudes of his enemies coming to aſſault him, was not at all daunted, but fortified himſelf in his houſe, hoping that *Vguccio* whom he had ſent to, would come and relieve him: His houſe, and all the ways to it were barricadoed by him, and ſo well defended by the friends that adhered to him, that though the people were ſo numerous they could not overcome them, however the skirmiſh was hot, and many killed and wounded on both ſides; and the people ſeeing they could not by open ways overcome him, poſſeſſed themſelves of the next adjoining houſes, and by breaking through places not at all miſtruſted, entered his houſe; *Corſo* now ſeeing himſelf encompaſſed with enemies, and truſting no longer to *Vguccio*'s help, reſolved ſince he deſpaired of victory, to try if he could ſave himſelf; whereupon he and *Gerrard Bonduci*, with many others of his valiant and faithful friends, charging furiouſly upon the people forced their way through them, and got out of the City by the Gate of the Croſs; however they were purſued by ſo many, that *Gerrardi* was on the *African* Bridge by *Boccacio Canicculli* ſlain, and *Meſſer Corſo* by ſome Catalonian horſe in the Signory's pay at

Corſo Donati condemned;

His houſe aſſaulted;

His brave Defence.

at *Rovezano* overtaken, and made priſoner, but in his return towards *Florence*, that he might not be gazed upon by his victorious enemies, or perhaps torn in pieces by them, he ſuffered himſelf to fall off his horſe, and was by one of thoſe had the Guard of him diſpatch'd, his body was taken up by the Monks of *S. Salvi*, and without any pomp buried: ſuch was the end of *Meſſer Corſo*, from whom his Countrey and the *Neri* had received many good and evil Offices, who had he had a more quiet mind, his memory might have been more happy; yet deſerves he to be enrolled among the braveſt Citizens our City can boaſt off: 'Tis true, his Factious and reſtleſs ſpirit made both his Countrey and his confederates forbear conferring honours on him, had elſe been his due, and proved at laſt both the cauſe of his own death, and of much miſchief to them: *Uguccio* coming to aid his ſon in Law, hearing at *Remoli* how he was oppreſſed by the people, and judging he could not do him any good, that he might not do miſchief to himſelf, returned back. *Meſſer Corſo* dead (which happened in the year 1308) the tumults ceaſed, and the City lived in peace till ſuch time as they heard that the Emperour *Harry* was coming into *Italy* with all the *Florentine* Rebels, whom he had promiſed to reſtore to their Countrey, whereupon the heads of the Commonwealth thought fit to leſſen the number of their enemies, and to that end determined

Corſo Donati's Death.

The *Florentine* Rebels coming with *Harry* the Emperour.

mined that all who had not by ſpecial name been baniſhed, ſhould be recalled, ſo that there remained ſtill excluded almoſt all the *Ghibellines*, and ſome of the *Bianchi*, among which were *Dante Aligbieri*, the children of *Veri de Cerchi*, and *Giano de Bella*: they ſent moreover for aid to *Robert* King of *Naples*, and ſeeing they could not obtain it as friends, they gave him the City for five years, on condition that with his Forces he ſhould defend it: the Emperour coming, took the way of *Piſa*, and ſo by the Sea-coaſt to *Rome*, where he was crowned, 1312. and afterwards determining to tame the *Florentines*, comes by the way of *Perugia* and *Arezzo* to *Florence*, and ſits down at the Monaſtery of S. *Salvi*, within a mile of the City, where he ſtaid fifty days without doing any thing, inſomuch that deſpairing of diſturbing the Government and State of that City, he goes to *Piſa*, where he makes an agreement with *Frederick* King of *Sicily* to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, and being marched thither with his Army, in the height of his hopes of a victory, and King *Robert*'s fears of ruine, at *Bonconvento* he dyes. It happened a while afterwards that *Vguccio de Fagiuola* becomes Lord of *Piſa*, and preſently after of *Lucca*, where he was put in by the Ghibelline party, and now with the help of theſe two Cities did great damage to his Neighbours, which the *Florentines* to free themſelves from, deſired of King *Robert* that his brother *Peter* might

The *Florentines* crave aid of *Robert* King of *Naples*.

The Emperour ſits down before *Florence*.

Vguccio Lord of *Piſa*.

might command their Forces: whileſt *Vguccio* on the other ſide ceaſed not to enlarge his Dominion, and by force or ſtratagem had in the Vale of *Arno*, and in the Vale of *Nievole* taken many Towns and Caſtles: and ſitting now down with his Forces before *Monte Catini*, the *Florentines* thought it neceſſary to relieve it, and not let this fire conſume their whole Territory, raiſing to that end a great Army, they marched to the Vale of *Nievole*, where they engaged with *Vguccio*, and after a ſharp encounter were routed, here dyed *Peter* the Kings brother (whoſe body could never be found) and with him more than two thouſand men were ſlain; nor had *Vguccio*'s ſide any cauſe to rejoice at the victory, he loſing his ſon, and many of the chief Leaders of his Army. The *Florentines* after this loſs ſtrengthened their Towns within, and the King ſent them for their General the Count *de Andrea*, whom they called the new Count, by whoſe deportment, or becauſe it is natural to the *Florentines*, that all Governments grow irkſome to them, and every accident divides the City, notwithſtanding the war they had with *Vguccio*, the City was again divided into Friends, and enemies to the King; the chief of the enemies were *Simon della Toſa*, the *Magolotti*, with ſome of the *Populacy* that were ſuperiour to others in the Government, theſe ſent into *France* and *Germany* to leavy men, and fetch Captains, that at their arrival they

Peter the Kings Brother ſlain.

Count *Andrea*, General of the *Florentines*.

The City again divided

they might drive out the Earl, that was Governour for the King; but as fortune would have it, they could get none, yet they left not off, but ſeeking aſſiſtance every where, though they could not from *France* nor *Germany* have any, they prevailed at *Agobbio*, and having firſt driven out the Count, brought in *Lando* of *Agobbio*, and made him *Bargello* or Executor, giving him the ampleſt power any had ever had over the Citizens; this was a ravenous and cruel man who with his Soldiers marched up and down the Countrey, putting to death one or other at the will and pleaſure of thoſe that had elected him; and grew at laſt ſo inſolent, that he ſtamped falſe money of the *Florentine* coin, whileſt no body durſt queſtion or oppoſe him, to ſuch a height had the diſcords of *Florence* raiſed him, a great, 'tis true, but miſerable City, whom neither the remembrance of their paſt Diviſions, nor the fear of *Uguccio*, nor the Authority of a King could keep conſtant. The Kings friends and oppoſers to *Lando* and his followers, were Nobles or wealthy Commons, and all *Guelfs*, yet becauſe their Adverſaries had the Government in their hands, they could not without great danger diſcover themſelves; but having determined to free themſelves from ſo vile and tyrannical oppreſſion, they writ privily to King *Robert*, that he ſhould make Count *Guido* of *Butifolle* his Lieutenant at *Florence*, which the King gave preſent orders for (and though the

Lando of *Agobbio*'s Tyranny.

Guido of *Butifolle* the Kings Lieutenant at *Florence*.

the Lords were the Kings oppoſers) yet the adverſe party durſt not, becauſe of the excellent qualities of the Earl, refuſe him, yet he had not much authority, for the Signory and Standard-bearers of the Companies favoured *Lando* and his party. Whileſt they lived under theſe afflictions in *Florence*, the Daughter of *Albertus* Emperour of *Germany*, came to *Florence* in her way towards *Naples*, whither ſhe was going to *Charles* the Son of *Robert* her Husband; ſhe was very honourably received by the Kings friends: who complained to her of the ſad condition of the City, and the tyrannies of *Lando*, inſomuch that before ſhe parted, by her means, and thoſe of the Kings party, the Citizens united, and *Lando* was deprived of his Authority, and (glutted with blood and plunder) ſent back to *Agobbio*. In the Reformation of the Government, the Signory was for three years prorogued to the King, and becauſe there was already ſeven Lords elected of thoſe of *Lando*'s Faction, they choſe ſix of the Kings, and ſome Magiſtracies were held with only thirteen Lords, but afterwards according to cuſtom, they brought them again to fourteen. In or about this time the Signorys of *Lucca* and *Piſa* were taken from *Vguccio*, and *Caſtruccio Caſtrucani* Citizen of *Lucca* became Lord of them, who being a young man, bold and courageous, and withal fortunate in his undertakings, in a very ſhort time became head of all the *Ghibellines* in *Tuſcany*; whereupon the *Florentines*

Caſtruccio Caſtracani Lord of *Lucca* and *Piſa*.

tines laying aſide their civil-diſcords, conſulted how to ſtop the growth of *Caſtruccio*'s greatneſs, and defend themſelves againſt the power he had already attained to: and becauſe the *Signory* ſhould better deliberate and weigh all affairs, and with greater authority execute them, they choſe twelve Citizens, whom they called *Good-men*, without whoſe counſel and conſent the Lords could do nothing of importance: The time of the Government aſſigned to King *Robert* was now expired, and the City becoming Prince over it ſelf, re-eſtabliſhed the ancient and uſual Governours and Magiſtrates: the great fear they ſtood in of *Caſtruccio* kept them united, who after many feats done by him againſt the Lords of *Lunigiana*, beſieged *Prato*; whereupon the *Florentines* reſolving to relieve it, ſhut up their ſhops, and the people marched out twenty thouſand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horſe: and to weaken *Caſtruccio*, and ſtrengthen themſelves, they made Proclamation, That whatever Rebel *Guelf* ſhould come to the relief of *Prato*, he ſhould after that Action was over, be reſtored to their Countrey, whereupon above four thouſand Rebels came in: This ſo great Army, ſo quickly brought to *Prato*, daunted *Caſtruccio* in ſuch manner, that without truſting to the Fortune of a Fight, he retreated towards *Lucca*: whereupon grew a difference in the *Florentine* Camp, between the Nobles and people: Theſe would have followed him, and by falling

The *Florentines* afraid of *Caſtruccio*.

He beſieges *Prato*.

Difference in the *Florentine* Camp.

falling in his rear have deſtroyed him. Thoſe would return, alleadging that it was enough to have put *Florence* in danger to deliver *Prato*, which was well enough to be born with, whileſt they were conſtrained by neceſſity, but now that was taken away, it was not at all convenient to tempt fortune, where the loſs might be great, and the advantage could be but ſmall. Thus, they not agreeing, the buſineſs was referred to the determination of the Lords, who met in their Council with the ſame difference between people and Lords, which being underſtood in the City, the rabble tumultuouſly aſſembled in the great place, uttering many reproachful words againſt the Nobles, till they for fear conſent to the purſuit of *Caſtruccio*, but the reſolution being taken too late, and unwillingly, the enemy had time to ſecure himſelf in *Lucca*: this diſorder ſo enraged the people againſt the Lords, that they would not permit their word paſſed by Proclamation to the Rebels (though done by their own order and conſent) to be performed, which the exiles having ſome hints of, that they might anticipate this reſolve, they preſented themſelves before the City gate, to enter *Florence* in the Front of the Army, which matter being foreſeen, they were by thoſe which ſtill remained in *Florence* repulſed, but to ſee whether they could have that by fair means, which they could not get by force, they ſent eight Ambaſſadours

baſſadours, to put the Lords in mind of their promiſe; and faith given, and to conſider the dangers they had run through out of hopes, to have that promiſe made good to them; and though the Nobles (who thought themſelves, and their honours obliged in this cauſe, becauſe they had particularly promiſed what the Lords had proclaimed) laboured as much as they could in their behalfs, yet the Pique, the generality of the people had taken (that ſince they had not overcome *Caſtruccio* in fight, they could not pretend to it) was ſo univerſal, that they could not obtain it, which was a heavy blur and diſhonour to the City. And many of the Nobles were ſo incenſed at it, that they attempted to gain that by force, which they could not do by perſwation, and agreed privately with the Out-laws, that they ſhould come armed to the City, and they within would take Arms in their aſſiſtance; but the plot was diſcovered before the appointed day, in ſo much that the exiles found the City in Arms, and in order ready to ſtop thoſe without, which ſo frighted thoſe within, that not one durſt take Arms, ſo that hopeleſs they retreated, and gave over the enterprize. After their departure it was moved, that condign puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on thoſe, who had been the guilty cauſe of their coming, but though every one knew who were the delinquents, none durſt name or accuſe them: Wherefore that the truth

truth might be known without reſpect, it was ordered, that in the Council they ſhould write down the Delinquents names, and privately give the writing to the Captain of the people, by which means accuſations were given in againſt *Amſerigho Donati*, *Teghiaio Freſcobaldi*, and *Lotteringho Gerardini*, who finding a more favourable Judge than poſſibly their faults deſerved, were only fined. The Tumults which were raiſed in *Florence*, by the Rebels coming to the Gates, made it appear, that one Chief was not enough for the Companies of the people, and therefore for the future they would have three or four Leaders for each Company, and to every Standard-bearer, they added two or three, which they called *Pennoniers*, to the end, that in time of neceſſity, where all the Company was not to be drawn together, part of it might be employed under one of the Leaders, and part under others. And as it happens in all Republicks, after ſome accidents, old Laws are repealed, and new ones enacted; whereas formerly the Lords were created from time to time, the Signiory and their Colleagues now ſitting (to amplyfie and enlarge their power) enacted, that they and their ſucceſſors ſhould continue forty Months, whoſe names they put into a purſe, and every two months drew them, but before the term of forty Months was paſt, many of the Citizens doubting that they were not in the purſe, there was a new imbur-

ſation required. From this beginning ſprung the order of chuſing out the of purſe the Magiſtrates both within and without the City, whereas, firſt, at the end of their Magiſtracy, by the ſucceeding Council they were choſen: Theſe and the names thus put into the purſe, they afterwards called * *Squittini*; and becauſe every three, or at moſt every five years only it was done, they conceived it eaſed the City of much trouble, and took away many occaſions of Tumults, which at the creation of every Magiſtrate, by reaſon of the number of Competitors uſually happened, which diſorders not underſtanding how otherwiſe to prevent, made them make choice of this way, not foreſeeing the defects that lay hid under ſuch ſlender conveniencies. It was now the year 1325, and *Caſtruccio* having poſſeſſed himſelf of *Piſtoia*, grew ſo potent that the *Florentines* fearful of his greatneſs, reſolved before he was well ſetled in the Dominion of it, to aſſault it and reſcue it out of his clutches. And among their Citizens and Friends, they levied twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and with this Army they encamped againſt *Altopaſcio*, that by taking that, they might cut off all relief from *Piſtoia*, the *Florentines* were ſucceſsful in taking this Town, and from thence proceeded towards *Lucca*, waſting the Country; but by reaſon of imprudent management and infidelity in their General, they made little

* The word ſignifies a-joyning or coupling together.

The Florentines determine to aſſault *Piſtoia*.

little progreſs: Their preſent General was *Raimond* of *Cardona*, who having obſerved the *Florentines* very liberal of their liberty, ſometimes having yielded it to the King, ſometimes to the Legat, and ſometimes to men of meaner quality, he thought by reducing them to ſome neceſſity, it might probably happen that they might make him Prince: Nor did he forget to put them often in mind to grant him the ſame authority in the City, that he had in the Field, alleadging that otherwiſe, he could never have that obedience, which was requiſite for a General. And becauſe the *Florentines* conſented not in this, he let ſlip thoſe opportunities, which *Caſtruccio* laid hold of, for in the mean time thoſe aids promiſed by the *Viſconti*, and the other Tyrants of *Lombardy* arrived; and now grown potent: *Raimond*, who before for want of fidelity could not overcome, now for want of prudence knew not how to ſecure himſelf, but moving ſlowly with his Army, was by *Caſtruccio* near *Altopaſcio* aſſaulted, and after a bloody battel totally routed, where many Citizens were taken and ſlain, and among them *Meſſer Raimond* himſelf; on whom Fortune juſtly inflicted this puniſhment, which his falſhood and evil counſels had deſerved from the *Florentines*. The damage *Caſtruccio* did the Florentines in plunder, priſoners, ruines and burnings can hardly be related, for without any oppoſition, he for ſeveral months over-run their

Country; and for the *Florentines* it ſeem'd enough after ſuch a loſs to ſave their City; yet were they not ſo cow-hearted, but they made great proviſion of money, hired Soldiers, and ſent to their friends for aid, but againſt ſuch an enemy no proviſion was ſufficient: They were therefore conſtrained to chuſe *Charles* Duke of *Calabria*, Son of King *Robert* their Lord, if they would have him come to their defence, for that Family being uſed to Lord it over *Florence*, choſe rather their obedience than their friendſhip: but *Charles* being engaged in the war of *Sicily*, and not at leiſure to come and take poſſeſſion of his Lordſhip, ſent *Walter*, by Nation a Frenchman, and Duke of *Athens*. He as Lievtenant to the Lord took poſſeſſion of the City, and ordained Magiſtrates at his will and pleaſure; yet was his deportment ſo modeſt, and in a manner contrary to his Nature, that every one loved him. *Charles* as ſoon as the Sicilian Wars were ended, with a thouſand horſe comes to *Florence*, where he made his entrance in *July* 1326, whoſe preſence put a ſtop to *Caſtruccio*'s inroads into the *Florentine* Country, or at leaſt awed him ſo, that he could not make them ſo freely: but whatever reputation he gained abroad, he loſt within, and thoſe injuries and damages their enemies were ſtopt from doing, their friends did at home, for the *Signiory* now acted nothing without the Dukes conſent, and he raiſed four hundred thouſand *Florins*

Charles Duke of Calabria choſen Lord of Florence.

rins upon the City, notwithſtanding by agreement, he was not to exceed two hundred thouſand. So heavy were the loads wherewith he or his Father daily oppreſſed the City. And to theſe grievances new jealouſies and freſh enemies were joyned; for the *Ghibellines* of *Lombardy* were ſo allarm'd at the coming of *Charles* into *Tuſcany*; that *Galeazzo Viſconti*, and the other Tyrants of *Lombardy*, with money and promiſes prevailed with *Lewis* Duke of *Baviera*, who againſt the Popes will had been created Emperour, to make an expedition into *Italy*. He comes into *Lombardy*, and from thence into *Italy*, and with *Caſtruccio*'s aid makes himſelf Lord of *Piſa*, where refreſhed with money, he marches towards *Rome*, which made *Charles* haſte from *Florence*, (being in fear for the Kingdom) and leave *Meſſer Philip de Sagginetto* his Lieutenant. *Caſtruccio* after the Emperours departure makes himſelf Lord of *Piſa*, and the *Florentines* by a cunning plot and contrivance took from him *Piſtoia*. Which preſently *Caſtruccio* ſits down before and beſieges, where he kept his ground with ſo much valour and obſtinacy, that though the *Florentines* made many attempts to relieve it, and oft-times with their Army made ſhow of making inroads into his own Country, to draw him off thence, yet they could never, either by force or cunning make him raiſe his ſeige, ſo eagerly he deſired to chaſtiſe the *Piſtoians*,

Lewis Duke of *Baviera* Emperor marches into *Italy*.

Caſtruccio retakes Piſtoia,

and baffle the *Florentines*; ſo that at laſt the *Piſtoians* were conſtrained to accept him for their Lord: which though it was a great addition to his glory, yet was dearly purchaſed, for at his return to *Lucca* he dyed. And becauſe *Fortune* rarely gives either good or evil ſingly, *Charles* Duke of *Calabria*, and Lord of *Florence* dyed about the ſame time at *Naples*. So that the *Florentines* beyond their expectation were in one inſtant delivered from the fear of the one, and Tyranny of the other; who having thus recovered their freedom, reformed the City, and vacating all the Orders of counſels, created two new, one of three hundred Citizens, Commoners, and the other of two hundred and forty Nobles and people mixed, the firſt of which they called the Council of the people, and the other the Common-council. The Emperour at his arrival at *Rome*, created an Anti-pope and enacted many things againſt the Church and attempted many others unſucceſsfully: So that at laſt he went thence with diſgrace, and comes to *Piſa*, where either ſome other way affronted, or for want of pay eight hundred Germane Horſe revolted, and on *Monte Chiaro* upon the *Ceruglio* ſtrengthned themſelves; theſe as ſoon as the Emperour was gone from *Piſa* towards *Lombardy*, ſurprized *Lucca*, driving out *Francis Caſtracani*, left there by the Emperour; and hoping to make ſome advantage of this ſeiſure, they offered that City to the *Florentines*

And dyes.

Charles of Calabria dyes at Naples.

Lucca offered to the Florentines for twenty thouſand Florins.

rentines for twenty thouſand *Florins*, which by the advice of *Simon della Toſa* was refuſed, and it had been well for the City, had the *Florentines* been conſtant in their determination, but as they ſoon after varied their minds provedvery hurtful; for,as now for ſo ſmall a price they might have been peaceably poſſeſſed of it, and would not, afterwards when they would have had it, they could not, though they would have bought it at a much vaſter rate; but it happened in this as in their change of Government, which the *Florentines* often altered to infinite damage. *Lucca* thus refuſed by the *Florentines*, was bought by *Gerardine Spinola* a *Genoueſe*, for thirty thouſand *Florins*. And becauſe men are leſs eager, after what they may have then what they cannot obtain, as ſoon as ever they heard of *Gerardines* bargain, and conſidered at how eaſie a rate he had it; the whole people of *Florence* were enflamed with a mighty deſire of having it, condemning both themſelves, and them that had diſcouraged them from buying it. And to gain by force what they would not purchaſe with money, they ſent their forces to prey upon and ſpoil the *Luccheſe* Territories. The Emperour in the interim was gone out of *Italy*, and the Anti-pope, by order of the *Piſans* ſent priſoner into *France*. And the *Florentines* after the death of *Caſtruccio*, which happened in 1328, till 1340 were quiet within, and only attended their affairs abroad, and in

Lucca bought by Gerrardino Spinola.

Lombardy, by reaſon of the coming of *John* King of *Bohemia*, & in *Tuſcany* upon account of *Lucca* they had many Wars. They likewiſe adorned their City with new buildings, erecting the Tower of *Sancta Reparata*, by the advice of *Giotto*, a famous painter in thoſe times, and in the year 1334 happened an extraordinary over-flowing of the River *Arno*, inſomuch, that in ſome places of *Florence* the Waters roſe above twelve yards, whereby part of the Bridges, and many Buildings were ruined, which with great charge and induſtry, they ſtrove to repair. But in the year 1340 new occaſions of difference happened. The richeſt of the Citizens had two ways to increaſe and maintain their power. The one was by ordering in ſuch manner, the imburſations of Magiſtrates, that it ſhould always light upon them, or ſome of their friends; the other to be Chiefs in the Elections, that they might be afterwards in their judgements favourable to them. And ſo highly did they eſteem this ſecond part, that two Rectors or Governours not ſufficing them, they many times for their own ends brought in a third; and now they had in an extraordinary manner brought in under the title of Captain of the Guard *Meſſer James Gabriel* of *Agobbio*, and given him all manner of Authority over the City. This man in complyance with thoſe that governed, did multiply injuries, and among others affronted *Meſſer Piedra*

Florence adorned with new Buildings.

1334.

A great flood in *Florence*.

New occaſions of difference.

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de Bardo, and *Meſſer Bardo Freſcobaldi*. Theſe being of the Nobility and Naturally proud, could not put up an affront from a ſtranger, who was in the wrong, and who only in complyance of a few people that governed had abuſed them, wherefore to revenge themſelves, both of him and the preſent Governours, they formed a conſpiracy, in which many Noble Families, and ſome of the people joyned, diſpleaſed with the Tyranny of thoſe ſat now at the Helm. They had deſigned among themſelves, that every one of them ſhould aſſemble as many armed men as they could in their houſes, and at the time of Mattins on *All-Souls* day, when the people were diſperſed in the ſeveral Churches to pray for their dead, fall on, kill the Captain, and the heads of the Government: and ſo with new Lords and new Orders reform the State. But becauſe in perilous attempts, the longer they are debated on the more difficulties appear, and conſequently they are the more unwillingly undertaken: it generally happens in conſpiracies delay of execution begets a diſcovery. Thus *Andrea Bardi* being one of the Conſpirators, fear of puniſhment happened to have more power over him than hopes of revenge, whereupon he diſcovered all to *James Alberti* his [illegible]man; *James* to the Priors, and they to the Governours; and becauſe the danger was nigh (*All-Souls day* being at hand) they judged it hazardous to delay, but adviſed

A plot against the State.

viſed the Lords to ring out the Bell, and ſummon the people to Arms. *Taldo Valori* was Standard-bearer, and *Franciſco Salviati* one of the Lords: Theſe being of the *Bardi*'s relations withſtood the ringing out of the Bell, alleadging it was not convenient on every ſlight occaſion to Arm the people, becauſe the Authority of the unbridled multitude never did well; and that Tumults were eaſily raiſed, but hardly quelled. And therefore it were more judicious firſt to examine the truth of the matter, and civily puniſh the offenders, than adventure their Chaſtiſements tumultouſly, and upon a ſingle relation, hazard the ruine of *Florence*. Which reaſons were ſo far from being allowed of, that with villanous and reproachful words, the Lords were forced to make the Bell be rung out. At the ſound of which all the people gathered in Arms to the *Piazza*. And on the other ſide the *Bardi* and *Freſcobaldi*, ſeeing themſelves diſcovered, that they might overcome with glory, or dye without ſhame, betook themſelves to Arms, hoping to defend that part of the City on the farther ſide of the River, where their houſes ſtood relying on the help they hoped to receive from the Nobles in the Country, and other their friends: But this their deſign was prevented by the people, which inhabited that part of the City, who took Arms for the Lords. Whereupon ſeeing this interpoſition, they retreated into the Street, where the *Bardi* dwelt

dwelt as ſtronger than any of the reſt, and that they vigorouſly defended: *James* of *Agobbio* knowing all this conſpiracy made againſt him, fearful of death, in fright and amazement kept himſelf in the midſt of his armed men, near the palace of the Lords; but the other Governours who were leſs faulty had more courage, and eſpecially the *Podeſta*, or Mayor, who was called *Meſſer Maffeo da Mazzadi*. This brave Gentleman coming into the hotteſt of the skirmiſh, on the other ſide the bridge *Rubaconte*, and entring amidſt the ſwords of the *Bardi*, made a ſign to parley with them; and the reverence they bore to the perſon of the man, to his good manners, and other excellent qualities, made them in an inſtant forbear fighting, and quietly liſten to him, who with grave and modeſt words blamed their Rebellion, and ſhewed them the danger in which they were, if they yielded not to the force of the people, giving them hopes that they ſhould afterwards be heard, and favourably judged, and promiſing to be a mediator for compaſſion to their ſo reaſonable provocation: and then turning to the Lords perſwaded them that they would not ſtrive to overcome with the blood of their own Citizens, nor judge any unheard. And ſo far he prevailed that the *Bardi* and *Freſcobaldi* without any oppoſition left the City, and retired to their own Caſtles; they gone, and the people having laid down their Arms, the Lords proceeded only againſt

The Rebels favourably cited by means of the *Poteſta*.

gainſt thoſe of the Families of the *Bardi* and *Freſcobaldi*, that had taken Arms, and to deveſt them of all power, they bought from the *Bardi* the Caſtles of *Mangona* and *Verina*, and by a Law enacted that no Citizen ſhould poſſeſs any Caſtle within twenty miles of *Florence*: ſome months after *Stiato Freſcobaldi* was beheaded, and many others declared Rebels; nor were thoſe who governed content to have overcome the *Bardi* and *Freſcobaldi*, but as all men uſually do, the more authority they have the worſe they uſe it, and the more inſolent they grow, whereas before one Captain of the Guard afflicted *Florence* within, now they choſe another with unlimited authority to torment the Countrey without, ſo that none they were jealous of, could inhabit either in *Florence* or abroad; which ſo much incenſed all the Nobles againſt them, that they were even ready to ſell the City and themſelves for revenge, and waiting only for an opportunity; it happened well, and they uſed it better. By reaſon of the many troubles of *Tuſcany*, and *Lombardy*, the City of *Lucca* was fallen into the hands of *Maſtino della Scala* Lord of *Verona*, who (though by contract he was to conſign it to the *Florentines*) yet being Lord of *Parma*, and judging himſelf unable to keep it, he had not done it, but ſlighted his word, and broke his Faith; whereupon the *Florentiees* to revenge themſelves, joined with the *Venetians*, and reduced him

Yet ſome of them made Example. Severe Laws made.

The Commons incenſe the Nobles to their damage.

Maſtino Lord of *Verona* gets *Lucca*.

to

to the very point of loſing his whole eſtate, yet all the advantage *Florence* got in the end, was the ſatisfaction of having recovered *Maſtino*: for the *Venetians* (as all that allye themſelves with the weaker do) after having gained *Trevigi* and *Vicenza* (without any reſpect to the *Florentines*) made peace: but ſometimes after the *Viſconti* Lords of *Milan* having taken *Parma* from *Maſtino*, he thinking now he could no longer hold *Lucca*, offered it to ſale; the *Florentines* and the *Piſans* were the chapmen bid for it, but in driving the bargain, the *Piſans* ſeeing that the *Florentines* as the richer would carry it, applyed themſelves to get it by force, and with the aid of the *Viſconti* took the Field; the *Florentines* however drew not back, but compleated their purchaſe with *Maſtino*, paid part of the money down, and for the reſt gave Hoſtages, and went to take poſſeſſion: *Naddo Ruciellai*, *John Bernardine de Medici* and *Roſſo di Ricciardo* were ſent, who entring *Lucca* by force, had the poſſeſſion delivered them by *Maſtino's* people; yet the *Piſans* purſued their enterprize, and with all imaginable induſtry ſought to gain it by force, and the *Florentines* to raiſe the ſiege: and after a tedious war the *Florentines* with the expence of money and purchaſe of ſhame were driven out, and the *Piſans* became Lords of *Lucca*. The loſs of this City (as in ſuch caſes it always happens) made the people of *Florence* mad at their Governours, and in all places

The *Florentines* buy *Lucca* of *Maſtino*.

The *Florentines* beaten out by the *Piſans*.

places and publick meetings they rail'd at them, villifying their Authority and evil Councils. At the beginning of this war, the adminiſtration of the war was given to twenty Citizens, who made choice of *Mr. Rimini di Malateſta* for General of the expedition; who with little courage and leſs prudence had managed it, and becauſe they had ſent to *Robert* King of *Naples* for aid, that King had ſent them *Walter* Duke of *Athens*, who by the will of Heaven that was preparing the enſuing misfortunes, arrived in *Florence*, juſt in the time that *Lucca* was utterly loſt: whereupon the twenty ſeeing the people enraged, bethought themſelves of electing a new General; imagining by ſuch election both to revive their hopes, and to bridle or take away the occaſion of their calumniating them: and ſince all cauſe of fear was not yet paſt, and that the Duke of *Athens* could with more Authority defend them, they firſt choſe him Conſervator, and afterwards Captain General of their Armies. The Nobles who for the reaſons abovementioned, lived in diſcontent, being many of them well acquainted with *Walter* (when formerly in the name of *Charles* of *Calabria*, he governed *Florence*) thought now the time come, that they might with the ruine of the peoples liberty quench the fire in their own houſes, believing they had no other way to tame the people that had oppreſſed them, but by ſubmitting themſelves under a Prince

Walter Duke of *Athens* ſent agin to *Florence.*

The Nobles encourage him to make himſelf Prince.

Prince, who ſenſible of the virtues of one party, and the inſolencies of the other, would bridle this, and cheriſh that: adding to this the hopes of what they ſhould deſerve from him, when by their means he had obtained the principality: they had therefore many private meetings with him, perſwading him to take the Government upon him, and offering him their utmoſt aſſiſtance; and to the Authority and encouragements they gave him, ſome Families of the Commons, joined theirs, as the *Peruzzi*, *Acciavoli*, *Antelleſi* and *Bonacorſi*, who owing more than of themſelves they were able to pay, were covetous of other mens goods to diſcharge their debts, and by enſlaving their Countrey, thought to free themſelves from the ſlavery of their Creditors. Theſe perſwaſions ſtirred up the ambitious mind of the Duke to a greater deſire of Rule, and to gain himſelf the reputation of being juſt and ſevere, and by that means win favour among the people, he proſecuted the mannagers of the *Luccheſe* war, and *John de Medici* and *Naddo Rucellai*, and *William Altoviti* he put to death, and many he baniſhed, and more he fined. Theſe Executions extremely affrighted the middle ſort of Citizens, only the Nobles and Plebeians were pleaſed at them, theſe becauſe it is their nature to rejoice at michief, thoſe becauſe they ſaw themſelves in a way of revenging ſo many injuries the people had done them: and even as he paſſed

The mannagers of the *Luccheſe* War puniſhed.

ſed the ſtreets, they with loud voices praiſed the Frankneſs and Generoſity of his mind, and publickly encouraged him to examine and puniſh the frauds of the Citizens. The Authority of the twenty thus came to nothing; and the reputation of the Duke augmented, and the awe of him increaſed, and many to honour him, cauſed his Arms to be painted upon their houſes, nor wanted he any thing of Prince but the Title: and now thinking he might ſecurely do what he liſt, he ſent to let the Senators know, that he judged it for the good of the City, that they ſhould leave the Government freely and abſolutely to him, and (ſince the whole City were wellpleaſed with it) he deſired their conſent likewiſe: the Senators (though they had long before foreſeen the ruine of their Countrey) were much allarmed at this demand, and though they knew their danger, yet not to be wanting to their Countrey reſolutely denyed it. The Duke had to make the greater ſhow of Piety and Devotion, choſen for his reſidence the Convent of the Friars Minors of the Holy Croſs, and deſirous to bring his malignant deſigns to effect, he cauſed Proclamation to be made, That all the people ſhould appear before him in the *Piazza* of the Holy Croſs, on the morning following. This Proclamation ſtartled the Senators more than his Demands had done, and they got together with thoſe Citizens, whom they judged lovers of their Countrey, and of Liberty,

Liberty, not daring (as knowing too well the Dukes power) to apply any other remedy than prayer and perſwalion, and determining to try, ſince their force was inſufficient, if entreaties could make him deſiſt from the attempt, or at leaſt make his Tyranny the eaſier; whereupon part of the Lords went to him, and one of them ſpake after this manner. *We come hither, Great Sir, to you, moved firſt by your Demand, and ſince by the Proclamation you have made to aſſemble the people: for it is apparent to us, that you would in an extraordinary manner aſſume that which by ordinary ways we cannot grant you; nor is it our intention with any Force to oppoſe your Deſigns, but only to demonſtrate how heavy the load is, you lay upon us, and how perilous the action you undertake; that you may at all times remember our Counſels, as well as theirs, who not for your advantage, but to wreak their own malice have adviſed you to this. You attempt to enſlave a City, that has always lived free; for the Authority we have formerly granted to the Royal Blood of* Naples, *was as Companions, not as Servants. Have you conſidered of what influence and importance the very name of Liberty is in this City? which no power can tame, no time conſume, nor no merit counterpoiſe: Do but think, Sir, what Forces are neceſſary to keep in bondage ſuch a City; thoſe ſtrangers you have entertained will not ſuffice, thoſe within, you cannot rely upon, for they who are now your Friends, and have adviſed you to*

The Addreſs of the Lords to the Duke of *Athens* to diſſwade him from the Tyranny

this attempt, when with your Authority they have quelled their enemies, will ſeek your Deſtruction, that they may make themſelves Princes. The Plebeians in whom you confide, will upon the leaſt accident that can befal, revolt from you, ſo that you may reaſonably fear in a ſhort time to have the whole City your enemies, to the ruine both of it and your ſelf: nor is there in nature any remedy to prevent this; for thoſe Lords may make their Dominion ſecure, who having but few enemies, can with death or baniſhment root them out, but where the hatred is univerſal, no ſecurity can be found, for you not knowing whence the evil will ariſe, he that fears every man, can aſſure himſelf of none, or if you try to do it, you but aggravate the danger, for thoſe which remain (more enflamed with hate and anger) will be more ready for revenge: that time is not able with its Iron teeth to devour the deſire of Liberty is moſt certain, for it has often been known to have been reaſſumed in a City that had never themſelves taſted it, but had only a memory kept alive how their Fathers loved it, and once recovered, they have preſerved it with all obſtinacy and hazard, and had they not been put in mind of it by their Anceſtors, the publick Palaces, the Seats of the Magiſtracy, and the Badges of the free Orders would have recalled to memory, things which with all earneſtneſs of deſire muſt needs be again wiſhed for by all Citizens. What can you pretend your Acts ſhall be, to counterpoiſe the ſweetneſs of Liberty, or to extinguiſh in men a deſire of returning

ing

ing to their former freedom? the adding all Tuſcany *to this Dominion would not do it; no! though you ſhould every day return triumphant over our enemies, for the Glory of all this would not accrue to us, but to you: and though your manners were holy, your deportment kind, and your judgment juſt, yet would not all theſe be ſufficient to inſtall you in the peoples love; nay if you think they could free you from their hate, you would be deceived, for to him thats accuſtomed to live unbound, Fetters of Gold are heavy; and Silken Cords pinch; beſides, for a good Prince violently to detain a Government, is impoſſible, for it becomes a neceſſity that he either grow violent too, or that one or both run to ruine: You muſt therefore reſolve either with an extremity of violence to keep in awe this City (which, Cittadels, Guards, nor Forreign Friends will not be enough to do) or elſe content your ſelf with that Authority we have given you, to which we exhort you by remembring that that Dominion only is durable, which is voluntary, and do not (blinded by a little Ambition) be hurried into that Precipice, where not being able either to ſtand or climb higher, you muſt needs to your own, and our great damage fall.*

The Duke not moved with the Lords ſpeeches.

Theſe words did not at all move the obdurate heart of the Duke, who told them that it was not his intention to take away the Liberty of the City, but reſtore it, for diſunited Cities only were ſlaves, but united free. That if *Florence* by his means were delivered from Ambition, Parties and

Factions, he ſhould not take any away, but give it new freedom, that not of his own ambition, but the interceſſion of many Citizens led him to this attempt, and therefore they would do well to content themſelves with what others conſented to: as for the dangers which he might poſſibly encounter he contemned them, for it was the part of a diſhoneſt man to leave doing good for fear of evil, and of a coward to give over a glorious enterpriſe, becauſe the event was doubtful; but he hoped to carry himſelf ſo, that they in a ſhort time ſhould believe they had truſted him too little, and feared him too much: whereupon the Lords agreed, (ſeeing they could do no other ways) that the morning following the people ſhould aſſemble in the place before their Palace, by whoſe Authority they would give the Duke the Government for one year, with the ſame conditions were once given to *Charles* Duke of *Calabria*. It was the eighth day of *September*, and in the year 1342, that the Duke accompanied by *Meſſer John de Toſa*, and all his conſorts, and many other Citizens went to the place, and together with the Lords went up to the *Ringhiera* (ſo they call the platform at the foot of the Palace of the Lords) where they read to the people the agreements made between him and the Senators; but when they came to the reading of that paſſage, that for one year they gave him the Government, the people cryed out amain, *For*

1342. The Duke of *Athens* made Lord of *Florence*.

Life

Life, for Life; and *Franciſco Ruſtichegli* one of the Senate riſing to ſpeak, and mitigate the tumult, his words were drowned with the out-cryes of the people, ſo that by the peoples conſent not only for a year, but for ever, he was choſen Lord, and taken and carried through the multitude, who ecchoed out his name through the whole City. It is cuſtomary that he who has the Guard of the Palace ſhould in the abſence of the Senators be lock'd within it, and *Riveri de Gotto* now had that charge, he corrupted by the Dukes Friends, without any violence offered, let him in, and the Senators daunted and diſmayed, returned to their houſes, and their Palace was by the Dukes Family ſack'd, the Standard of the people torn in piece, and his Arms let flye upon the Palaces, which was look'd upon with extreme vexation and grief by all good men, but with great delight by thoſe who either through ignorance or malice had conſented to it. The Duke thus poſſeſſed of the Government, to take away all Authority from thoſe who had uſed to be defenders of Liberty, prohibited the Lords from meeting in the Palace, and aſſigned them a private houſe, took away the Standards from the *Gonfalonieres* of the Companies of the people, annulled the orders of Juſtice againſt the Nobles, ſet all priſoners free, recalled the *Bardi* and *Freſcobaldi* from Baniſhment, and forbid any one carrying Arms: and the better to defend himſelf from thoſe within,

The Duke makes new Inſtitutions, and annuls old ones.

made friends of thoſe without: Highly obliged the *Aretines*, and all other Towns ſubject to *Florence*, made peace with the *Piſans*, though he was made Prince to continue the war with them. Took the aſſignments from thoſe Merchants, who in the war of *Lucca* had lent the Commonwealth money: Increaſed the old Taxes, and impoſed new, deprived the Lords of all their Authority, and his chief Rectors or Miniſters were *Meſſer Baglione* of *Perugia*, *Meſſer William* of *Sceſi*, from whom, and *Meſſer Cerettieri Biſdomini*, he took counſel. The Taxes he had laid upon the Citizens were heavy, and his judgements unjuſt, and all that uprightneſs and humanity he had feigned, was turned into cruelty and pride; and that he might not govern better without than within, he conſtituted ſix Rectors or Governours over the Country, who rob'd, ſpoil'd and oppreſſed, the Country people. He grew jealous of the Nobles, though they had been ſo aſſiſtant to him, and that he had reſtored many of them to their Country, for he could not imagine that generous ſouls, who uſed to live as a free Nobility, could be content to obey him. He therefore addicted himſelf to oblige the *Plebeians*, hoping by their favour and forreign force to maintain his Tyranny. And when the Month of *May* was come, in which the people uſed to feaſt, he formed ſeveral Companies of the *Plebeians*, and meaneſt of the people, of whom

one

one part went feaſting throughout the City, and the othet with great pomp received the Feaſters. As ſoon as the Fame of his new Lordſhip was ſpread abroad, many of the *French* Nation addreſſed themſelves to him, to all which he gave employs as the people, he had the moſt confidence in: So that *Florence* in a ſhort time became not only ſubject to the *French*, but even to their Habits and Cuſtoms: for the Men and Women, without any reſpect to civility orſhame, followed their Faſhions; but that which fretted mens minds moſt of all, were the violences offered by him and his, to women. Thus then the Citizens lived full of inward indignation, ſeeing the Majeſty of the State ruined, it's Orders deſtroyed, it's Laws annulled, and all honeſt converſation corrupted, all civil modeſty extinguiſhed; for thoſe who uſed never to ſee any Regal Pomp, could not but with grief behold themſelves in every ſtreet, encompaſſed with Guards of Horſe and Foot; and that which made their grief and ſhame more poinant, was that they were to honour him, whom they above all the world hated: To which fear and terror was added, ſeeing the frequent Executions and continual Taxes, wherewith he conſumed and impoveriſhed the City, which fear and indignation of the people were well known and dreaded by the Duke, yet he made no ſhow, but ſeemed ſtill to believe himſelf beloved: Whence it happened that *Matthew Morozzo*,

either to gratifie him, or free or reſcue himſelf from the danger, having diſcovered how the Family of the *Medici*, and ſome others had conſpired againſt him. The Duke not only forbore making any inquiſition into the matter, but put the informer to a miſerable death: by which act he diſcouraged thoſe that would have given him advice how to ſecure himſelf, and created intelligence to thoſe who ſought his ruine. He likewiſe cauſed *Bettini Cini*'s tongue to be cut out, and that with ſo much cruelty that he dyed of it, only for railing at the Taxes he had impoſed on the people, which barbariſms begot heart-burnings in the Citizens, and extrem hatred of the Duke: for that City which had lived under a Cuſtom of doing and ſaying any thing they pleaſed, could not endure to have their hands bound, and their mouths ſtopt. In ſhort, theſe diſguſts and animoſities grew to that height, that not the *Florentines* only (who neither know how to be free, and yet cannot endure to ſerve) but the moſt ſervile Nation in the world would have hazarded all, to have regained their freedom; and thereupon many Citizens of all qualities, reſolved either to recover their Liberty, or loſe their lives. And in three parts by three ſorts of Citizens, three conſpiracies were formed, to wit, of the Nobles, Merchants and Mechanicks, moved (beſides the univerſal and general cauſe) from the Nobles thinking they had not advanced the State, nor themſelves in

Three Conſpiracies at once againſt the Duke.

in it: The Merchants that they had loſt it, and the Artificers that they wanted trading. *Meſſer Agnolo Acciaivolo* was now Arch-biſhop of *Florence*, who in all his Sermons had magnified the Dukes actions, and made him gracious in the eyes of the people. But now ſince he ſaw him Lord, and beheld his Tyrannies, he was conſcious to himſelf of being a betrayer of his Country. And to gain abſolution for that fault, he believed the beſt remedy was, that the hand which had made the wound ſhould heal it; and of the chief and ſtrongeſt conſpiracy, became himſelf the Head: In which were the *Bardi*, *Roſſi*, *Freſcobaldi*, *Scali*, *Altoviti*, *Magolotti*, *Strozzi*, and *Mancini*; of the ſecond were Chiefs *Meſſer Manno*, and *Corſo Donati*, and with them the *Pazzi*, *Caviciulli*, *Cerchi* and *Albizzi*: Of the third was Head *Antonio Adimari*, and with him the *Medici*, *Bordini*, *Rucellai*, and *Aldobrandini*. Theſe laſt thought to have ſlain him near the Palace of the *Albizzi*, where, as it was imagined he was to come and ſee a Horſe-race: But he not going thither, that failed; they determined then to aſſault him as he paſſed about the City: But this was found difficult, becauſe he always went well guarded and armed, and every day changed his walk, ſo that it was impoſſible to lye in ambuſh for him in any certain place: They conſulted alſo to kill him in Council, but 'twas then conſidered, that though they ſhould effect it,

it, the conſpirators muſt remain at the diſcretion of his Guards. Whilſt theſe things were debated amongſt the conſpirators, *Antonio Adimari* diſcovered the whole matter to ſome of his Friends at *Siena* (hoping to gain ſome aid from thence) openly declaring to them that part of the conſpirators, and aſſuring them the whole City was diſpoſed to regain their loſt Liberty. Whereupon one of them diſcloſed the matter to *Franciſco Brunelleſchi*, not out of intention to diſcover it, but out of a belief that he was likewiſe of the plot. *Brunelleſchi* terrified for himſelf, and hating the others, told all to the Duke; whereupon *Pagolo de Mazzecchi*, and *Simon de Monte reppoli* were taken; who confeſſing the quantity and quality of the Conſpirators, affrighted the Duke, and he was adviſed that he ſhould rather ſend for them friendly than arreſt them; for if they fled, he might without any ſcandal or diſhonour ſecure himſelf by their baniſhment. The Duke therefore ſent for *Antonio Adimari*, who confident of his companions immediately appeared; and he being detained, the Duke was by *Meſſer Franciſco Brunelleſchi*, and *Meſſer Uguccione*, *Buondelmonte* adviſed that he ſhould with his Soldiers ſcoure the ſtreets, and whoever he took put to death; but this way he could not approve of, judging his Forces too few for ſuch an adventure, he pitcht therefore on another, which if it ſucceeded, made him ſecure of

The plot diſcovered.

his

his enemies, and ſtrengthened his own power. The Duke had made it a Cuſtom, when any matter of weight occurred to ſend for the Citizens, and ask their advice. Having therefore now firſt ſent out to get forces in readineſs, he makes a liſt of three hundred Citizens, and ſends out his Serjeants to warn them in under pretence of adviſing with them; deſigning when he had once got them in his clutches, either to put them to death, or cloſely impriſon them. The detainour of *Anthony Adimari*, and the drawing together of his forces, which could not be kept ſecret, ſo ſtartled the Citizens, eſpecially the guilty, that the boldeſt of them denyed to appear. And becauſe every one had read the liſt, they went to ſeek each other out, heartning themſelves up rather to dye like men with Arms in their hands, then be led like Sheep to the ſlaughter: ſo that in few hours every party of the Conſpirators had diſcovered their intentions one to the other, and determined the day following, which was the 26 of *July* 1343, to raiſe a Tumult in the old Market, and thereupon taking arms, call out the people to Liberty. And accordingly the next day at nine a clock, the time appointed, they all took Arms, and the people likewiſe at the cry of Liberty armed themſelves, and each party fortified themſelves in their own Streets under Banners, with the peoples Arms in them, which the Conſpirators, had cauſed privily to be made:

All

All the Heads of the Families, as well Nobles as people met and ſwore to their own defence, and the death of the Duke (except only ſome of the *Buondelmonti* and *Cavalcanti*, and thoſe four Families of the Commons, that had conſented to make him Lord, who together with the *Beccai*, and the Rabble of the people, ran armed into the *Piazza* to defend the Duke.) Upon this rumour the Duke fortifies the Palace, and his men that were lodged in divers parts came out mounted on Horſe-back, to get into the *Piazza*, and in ſeveral places, were met with, fought and ſlain; yet about three hundred Horſe got thither. The Duke was in doubt whether he ſhould ſally out and fight his enemies, or defend himſelf in the Palace. On the other ſide, the *Medici Cavicciulli Ruccellai*, and other Families, which had been moſt oppreſſed by him, doubting leſt if he ſhould iſſue out, many that had taken Arms againſt him would revolt, and prove his friends, reſolving to deprive him of that opportunity of adding to his power, made head and aſſaulted the Palace: Upon their advancing, thoſe Families of the Commons, which had ſided with the Duke, ſeeing him thus briskly aſſaulted, changed their minds, ſince the Duke had changed his fortune, and all joyned with the Citizens, ſave only *Vaccione Buondelmonte*, who went to the Palace, and *John Cavalcanti*, who retreating with ſome of his conſorts into the New Market

Market, leaping upon a ſtall, intreated the people, who paſſed armed by towards the *Piazza*, that they would undertake the defence of the Duke, and to frighten them, he boaſted his own power, and threatned them all with death, if they continued obſtinate to oppoſe their Lord; but finding he neither could get any of them to follow him, nor that any of them took notice of his inſolence to chaſtiſe it; ſeeing his labour in vain, he would no longer tempt Fortune, but retired to his own houſe. Mean while the Bickering in the great place, between the forces of the Duke and the people was hot; and though the Palace gave all the aid it could to the Dukes party, they were overcome, and ſome of them ſubmitted to their enemies, and others, leaving their Horſes in the Palace fled. Whilſt they thus fought in the *Piazza*: *Corſo*, and *Amerigho Donati* of the peoples ſide, broke open the *Stinche*, burnt the Mayors Recods, and thoſe of the publick Chamber, ſack'd the houſes of the Rectors or Governours, and all thoſe Miniſters of the Dukes they could light on they ſlew. Mean while the Duke ſeeing he had loſt the *Piazza*, had all the City his enemies, and no hopes of help attempted by an act of kindneſs to gain the people: And ſending for the Priſoners, with ſweet and obliging words he releaſed them, making *Antonio Adimari* (though much againſt his will) Knight, he cauſed his Arms to be taken down from the Palace, and put

up

up thoſe of the people: Which things being done too late, and out of due order, as forced and done by conſtraint ſtood him in little ſtead; for he had ſtill the diſcontent to behold himſelf cloſe beſieged in the Palace, and to conſider that by graſping too much he had loſt all, and muſt in few days dye either by Famine or the Sword. The Citizens to give form again to their State, retired to *Santta Reparata*, and created ſixteen Citizens, one half of the Nobles, the other of the People, who together with the Archbiſhop had all manner of Authority given them to new Model the State, they likewiſe choſe ſix to execute the office of *Poteſtà* or Mayor till one ſhould be choſen. There were come into *Florence* to aid the people many from other parts, among which were divers from *Siena* with ſix Ambaſſadours, men much honoured in their Country. Theſe mediated ſome agreement between the Duke and People. But the people refuſed all manner of accord, unleſs firſt they had delivered up into their hands *Meſſer William Scefi*, and his Son, together with *Meſſer Cerettieri Biſdomini*. To this the Duke would not conſent; but at length threatned by the people beſieged with him, he yielded. Certainly the ſpite appears greater, and the wounds are more ghaſtly that are made by a people, recovering their Liberty, than by thoſe defending it. *Meſſer William* and his Son, were delivered as a prey to thouſands of their enemies, his

The Citizens take order to new model the State.

his Son not yet eighteen years of age; yet could neither his youth, beauty, nor innocence ſave him from the fury of the multitude; they fell upon them both, and thoſe who could not wound them living, wounded them dead; nor was their cruelty ſatisfied with hewing them in pieces with their ſwords, but they tore them with their hands and teeth; and that all their ſenſes might bear a part in their revenge, having firſt heard their groans, ſeen their wounds, touched their torn limbs; they would likewiſe have their taſte gratified, that their outward parts being before ſatisfied, their ſtomachs might be ſatiated likewiſe: but if this outragious madneſs made them exceed all bounds of cruelty to thoſe two poor Gentlemen: It was kind to *Meſſer Ceretieri*, for the multitude tyred with executing their bloody rage upon thoſe two, quite forgot him, who no more ask'd for, ſtayed ſtill in the Palace, and at night was by ſome of his Friends and Kinſmen conveyed into a place of ſafety. The people having wreakt their revenge in the blood of theſe two, came to this agreement, That the Duke with all his people and goods ſhould depart in ſafety, he renouncing all manner of claim to *Florence*, and that as ſoon as he was got out of their Dominion, he ſhould at *Caſentino* ſign the renuntiation. In this manner on the 6th. of *Auguſt* he departed from *Florence*, accompanied by many Citizens, and at *Caſentino* (though very unwillingly)

The barbarous cruelty of the people.

An accord made.

willingly) he ratified the renuntiation, nor had he kept his word, had not *Count Simon* threatned to carry him back to *Florence*. This Duke was (as his Government teſtifies) covetous and cruel, difficult of acceſs, and proud in his anſwers, he deſired the ſlavery, not the good will of men, and therefore choſe rather to be feared than loved: Nor was indeed, his preſence leſs contemptible than his manners, for he was of ſtature but low, and ſwarthy of complexion, his beard long and thin; ſo that every part of him deſerved hatred: and in ten months time, his evil cuſtoms had driven him from that Government, which the ill counſels of others had raiſed him too.

The Character of the Duke of Athens.

Several Towns of the Florentines rebel.

Theſe accidents happening in the City, gave opportunity to the Towns ſubject to the *Florentines* to aſſume their Liberty, ſo that *Arrezzo*, *Caſtiglione*, *Piſtoia*, *Volterra*, *Colle*, and *St. Gunigiano* rebelled; and the *Florentines* by recovering their Liberty, taught their ſubjects to do the like, and with the driving out of the Duke ſucceeded the loſs of their Territories: The ſixteen Citizens and the Biſhop thought it more convenient to pleaſe their ſubjects by peace, than to make themſelves enemies by war, and ſhow'd themſelves as well ſatisfied with their Liberty as with their own: wherefore they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Arezzo* to renounce all command they had over that City, and to make a League with them, that ſince they could not value themſelves upon

them

them as ſubjects, they might do it as friends, with the other Towns they agreed likewiſe in the beſt manner they could, ſtriving to keep them their friends, that they being free, might help to maintain their Liberty. This management, as it was prudently deviſed, ſo it had happy ſucceſs: For *Arrezzo* ere many years paſt returned under the *Florentine* government, and the other Towns ſtood out but few months: Thus many times we the ſooner, and with leſs charge and expence obtain things by ſeeming to ſlight them, than by proſecuting them with violence and obſtinacy. Things quieted thus abroad, they applyed themſelves to ſettle affairs at home, and after ſome diſputes between the Nobles and people, it was concluded that the Nobles ſhould have one third part in the *Signory*, and in all other offices one half; the City was, as we have ſaid before, divided into ſix Parts or Wards; whereupon there were ſix Lords, one of every Ward choſen, unleſs upon ſome accident they choſe twelve or thirteen, but ſoon after they were again reduced to ſix; yet it was thought fit to regulate the Government in this point, as well becauſe the Wards were not evenly diſtributed, as becauſe now giving a part to the Nobles, it was convenient to encreaſe the number of the Lords. Wherefore they divided the City into quarters, and out of each choſe three Lords or Senators, they aboliſhed the *Gonfaloniere* of juſtice, and thoſe of the Companies of the people, and in the place of the twelve good men, they created Eight Counſellors, four of each degree. This

The Florentine ſettle affairs at home.

order of Government eſtabliſhed, the City might have been quiet, if the Nobles had been content to live with that modeſty requiſite in civil converſation, but they acted clean contrary, for when private men, they would have no Companions; and when Magiſtrates, they would be Tyrants, and every day produced ſome example of their pride and inſolency; which mightily diſguſted the people, who were grieved to ſee that for one Tyrant deſtroyed, a thouſand were ſprung up. Thus inſolency on the one ſide, and regret on the other dayly increaſing, the heads of the people repreſented to the Biſhop the haughty deportment of the Nobles, and their ſcornful carriage towards their fellows in office, and therefore perſwaded him to mediate a way that the Nobles might be content with other offices, and leave the Magiſtracy of the *Signory* to the people only. The Biſhop was naturally juſt, but good natured, eaſie to be turned to one ſide or the other, which made him firſt at the inſtance of ſome of that Princes friends favour the Duke of *Athens*, and afterwards by the inſtigation and advice of ſome Citizens conſpire againſt him: he had in the reformation of the State favoured the Nobles, and now thought fit to favour the people, moved by the reaſons alleadged by thoſe popular Citizens, and thinking to find in others the ſame unſtedfaſtneſs himſelf was ſubject to, perſwaded to bring the matter to agreement, and ſummoning the ſixteen whoſe Authority was not yet extinct, in the beſt manner he could he exhorted them to yield the adminiſtration of the Sig-

New Diſſenſion between Nobility and people.

The Biſhop for the Commons.

nory

nory to the people, promiſing thereby the quiet of the City, or otherwiſe its ruine and deſtruction. This diſcourſe ſtrangely incenſed the Nobles, and *Meſſer Ridophus de Bardi* with bitter words reproved him, calling him a man of little faith, and reproaching his friendſhip to the Duke as fickle, and his conſpiracy againſt him as traiterous, concluding that thoſe honors which they had with danger gained, they would, ~~though~~ with danger defend, and departing with the others enraged at the Biſhop, he gave account of what had paſſed to his companions, and to all the Families of the Nobles, the Commons likewiſe told their minds to the others: and whilſt the Nobles were forming forces to defend their Authority, the people thought not fit to ſtay till they were got in order, but run armed to the Palace, crying out that they would have the Nobles renounce the Magiſtracy, the tumult and noiſe was great, and the Lords choſen from among the Nobles ſaw themſelves forſaken; for the Nobles ſeeing all the people in Arms durſt not come out, but every one kept within their houſes; ſo that the popular Lords having firſt uſed means to quiet the people, affirming their Colleagues to be good and modeſt men, not able to prevail upon leſs terms, they ſent them home to their own houſes, whither with much ado they were brought with ſafety: the Nobles thus thruſt out of the Palace, they took away the office likewiſe from the four noble Counſellors, and afterwards made twelve, all of the people; and to the eight Lords that remained, they made a *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice, and fixteen Standard-

He is ſharply reproved by *Ridolpho Bardi*.

bearers of the Companies of the people, and in ſuch mannner reformed the Councils that the whole power of Government remained in the arbitriment of the people. When theſe things happened there was a great ſcarcity in the City, ſo that both the Nobles and the poorer ſort of people were at once diſcontented, theſe for hunger, thoſe for having loſt their Authority; which accident encouraged *Meſſer Andrea Strozzi* to hope he might uſurp over the Liberty of the City: he ſold his corn at a much cheaper rate than others, whereupon multitudes flocked to his houſe, ſo that he took at laſt the boldneſs to mount one morning on horſeback, and with ſome of theſe behind him to call the people to Arms, and in a little time got together above four thouſand men, with which he marched to the Palace of the Lords, and demanded entrance, but the Lords with threats and arms beat him off the place, and by Proclamation ſo terrified the people, that by little and little every one went home to his own houſe, leaving *Meſſer Andrea* alone, who very hardly by flight eſcaped out of the Magiſtrates hands. This accident though raſh and fooliſh in it ſelf, yet made the Nobles hope they might one day force the people, ſince the *Plebeian* rabble were at diſcord with them, and that they might not loſe this occaſion they reſolved to ſtrengthen themſelves with all aſſiſtances poſſible, to regain by reaſonable force what by unjuſt force had been taken from them; and into ſuch a confidence of victory they grew, that they publickly provided Arms, fortifyed their houſes, and ſent to their friends in

The fooliſh Attempt of *Andrea Strozzi.*

The Nobles arm.

Lombardy

Lombardy for aid: The people likewiſe together with the Lords made their proviſions, arming themſelves, and demanding aſſiſtance from *Sciena* and *Perugia*: and now the friends of either ſide appeared: the whole City was in arms; the Nobles had on the largeſt ſide of the City made head in three places, at the houſe of the *Caviacciulli*, near S. *Johns*, at the houſe of the *Pazzi* and *Donati* at great S. *Peters*, and at that of the *Cavalcanti* in the New Market. Thoſe on the other ſide *Arno*, had fortifyed themſelves on the bridges, and in the ſtreets where their houſes ſtood; the *Nerli* defended the Bridge of *Carraia*, the *Freſcobaldi* and *Mannelli* that of the Holy Trinity, the *Roſſi* and *Bardi* the old Bridge, and that of *Rubiconte*: on the other ſide the Commons were aſſembled under the Standard of Juſtice, and the Banners of the Companies of the people; and things being in this poſture, the people thought not fit any longer to defer the ſcuffle, the firſt that moved were the *Medici* and *Rondinelli*, who aſſaulted the *Caviacciulli* at the entrance from S. *Johns* place to their houſes, here the skirmiſh was hot, becauſe from the Towers they were pelted with Stones, and from below wounded with Croſs-bows. This Battle laſted three hours, and ſtill the people increaſed, ſo that at length the *Caviacciulli* ſeeing themſelves oppreſſed by multitudes, and no ſuccour coming, grew faint, and yielded themſelves to the power of the people, who ſaved for them their Goods and Houſes, only took away their arms, which they divided among ſuch of their Friends and Kindred, among the Commons as were diſ-

And the people alſo.

armed

armed: having in the firſt aſſault come off Victors, they next fell upon the *Donati* and *Pazzi*, whom they eaſily overcome, being much weaker than the former, there remained now on that ſide the river the *Cavalcanti* only, who were very ſtrong both in men and ſituation, notwithſtanding ſeeing all the Standards march againſt them (when three of them only had conquered the other) without making any great defence they yielded: now were three parts of the City in the peoples hands, there remained only one in the hands of the Nobles, but that the hardeſt to come by, as well by reaſon of the ſtrength of thoſe that defended it, as for its ſituation, being fenced with the river *Arno*, ſo that there was no way but forcing the Bridges which were fortified in the manner before deſcribed, yet the old Bridge was firſt ſtormed, which was gallantly defended, for the Towers were armed, the paſſages barr'd, and the Turnpikes guarded with ſtout and couragious men, ſo that the people with great loſs were repulſed, ſeeing therefore here their labour loſt, they next aſſaulted the Bridge *Rubiconte*, but finding the ſame difficulty, leaving a Guard of four Colours to keep theſe two Poſts, they aſſaulted the *Caraia*, and though the *Nerli* manfully defend it, they could not ſuſtain the ſhock of the people, this Bridge (for want of Towers to defend it) being the weakeſt, and the *Capponi* and other Families of the Commons, aſſaulting them behind, ſo that oppreſſed on every ſide they forſook their Turnpikes, and gave way to the people, who after this overcame the *Roſſi* and *Freſcobaldi*

Freſcobaldi for now all the people on that ſide *Arno* joined with the Conquerours, there then remained only the *Bardi*, whom neither the ruine of the reſt, nor the uniting of the whole people, nor the ſmall hopes they had of any ſuccour could terrifie, but they choſe rather to dye with their Arms in their hands, and ſee their houſes ſack'd and burnt, than ſubmit themſelves to the diſcretion of their enemies; and ſo obſtinately defended they themſelves, that the people ſeveral times attempted in vain to beat them either from the old Bridge, or the *Rubaconte*, but were ſtill with the ſlaughter, and wounding of many of their men repulſed. There had ſome time before been a ſtreet made, which led from the Roman way by the houſes of the *Pitti* to the wall upon S. *Georges* hill, by this way the people ſent ſix Colours with orders to give the aſſault on the back-ſide of the *Bardi's* Houſes: this made their hearts fail them, and gave the people an intire victory, for when thoſe who had the guard of the Turnpikes heard their houſes were aſſaulted, they abandoned their Poſts, and ran to defend them; thus the Turnpike upon the old Bridge was taken, and the *Bardi* put to flight on all ſides, who by the *Quarateſi* *Panzameſi* and *Mozzi* were received, but the people (eſpecially the rabble) greedy of prey ſpoiled and ſacked their houſes, and pulled down, and burnt their Palaces with ſo much diſtempered rage & madneſs, that the moſt deſpiteful enemy of the *Florentine* name, would have bluſh'd to have made ſuch ruines. The Nobles thus overcome, the people reformed their State; and

The people gain abſolute victory

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and becauſe there were three degrees of people, the rich, the middle ſort and the Plebeians; they ordained that the richeſt Rank of Citizens ſhould have two choſen to ſit in the Signory, the middle ſort three, and the poor the like, and the *Gonfaloniere* was ſometimes of one, and ſometimes of the other, beſides all the Laws againſt the Nobles were re-enacted, and to weaken them the more, many of them were ranked and mixed among the people. This ruine of the Nobles was ſo great and ſo depreſſed their party, that never afterwards durſt they take Arms againſt the people, but lived ever after more humble and ſubmiſſive; by which means *Florence* grew vile and abject, loſing both its reputation in matter of Arms, and all Generoſity of manners. The City after this blow lived in quiet till the year 1543, in the courſe of which time happened that memorable Peſtilence, which *John Boccaſe* has deſcribed with ſo much Eloquence, and in which *Florence* loſt ninety ſix thouſand ſouls. The *Florentines* likewiſe made the firſt war with the *Viſconti* occaſioned by the Ambition of the Arch-Biſhop, then Prince of *Milan*: and though the Nobility was deſtroyed, yet Fortune failed not by new diviſions, to create new troubles.

THE

THE *FLORENTINE* HISTORY

Written by

Nicholas Machiavel,

Citizen and Secretary of *Florence*.

The Third Book.

THE natural and implacable Enmities between the Nobles and Common people, occaſioned by the deſire thoſe have to Command, and the regret theſe have to Obey, are the only Fountains from which all the Miſeries which befal a City flow. For, from this contradiction of Humours, all other diſturbances in a Common-

wealth take their ſource and ſtream: This divided *Rome*, and this (if it may be permitted to compare great things with ſmall) has kept *Florence* in diviſion; albeit in either of thoſe Cities divers effects were produced. For the quarrels which firſt happened in *Rome*, between the Common people and the Nobles, were decided with Words, but thoſe in *Florence* with Swords. Thoſe of *Rome* were determined by a Law; but thoſe of *Florence* with the ſlaughter and baniſhment of many of the Citizens. The *Romans* ſtill roſe and advanced in Military virtue; but the *Florentines* quite ruin'd it. The *Romans* from an Equality among their Citizens, reduced them to degrees of great Diſequality; thoſe of *Florence* from a great Diſequality, to a ſtrange and monſtrous Equality. Which diverſity of effects muſt of neceſſity, have been produced from the different ends thoſe people propoſed to themſelves: for the people of *Rome* only deſired to enjoy the Supream honours together with the Nobles; The *Florentines* on the contrary, fought to have the Government in their hands only, without admitting the Nobles to any ſhare. And, becauſe the deſires of the people of *Rome* were more reaſonable, the offences of the Nobles became more ſupportable, and that Nobility, without coming to Extremities, complyed ſo, that after any diſagreement it was but making a Law to ſatisfie the People, and the Nobles ſtill preſerved their Dignity.

Dignity. On the other ſide, the deſires of the People of *Florence* were injurious and unjuſt; which conſtrained the Nobility, with all their power, to ſtand upon their defence, whence proceeded ſuch effuſion of blood, and baniſhment of the Citizens: and thoſe Laws afterwards enacted, had no reſpect to Publick good, but were wholly made in favour of the Conquerour. Hence likewiſe it proceeded, that the people of *Rome* ſtill increaſed their Virtue with their Victories; for the people being equally admitted, with the Nobles, to all employments in the City, Camp and Government, ſtrove likewiſe to arrive at the ſame degree of virtue with them; whereby that City (increaſing in Virtue) increaſed likewiſe in Power: But in *Florence* the People overcoming, the Nobles were deprived of all Rule, and to regain it, were conſtrained in their deportment, in their mind, and in their manner of living, not only to aſſimulate themſelves to, but be indeed like the *Plebeians*; whence enſued the changing of Coats of Arms, and alterations of the Titles of Families, which the Nobles ſubmitted to, to level themſelves with the People; whereby that valour in War, and generoſity of mind, once in the Gentry, was quite extinguiſhed, and in the people who never had any, it was impoſſible to kindle it. So that *Florence* from time to time became ſtill more vile and abject; and whereas *Rome* converting its Virtue into Pride, had

brought it ſelf to thoſe terms, that without having a Prince it could not longer ſupport its own Greatneſs; *Florence* was fallen ſo low, that any prudent Lawgiver might model it into what form of Government he pleaſed. Which things, by reading the former Book, may in part be clearly diſcerned; and having already ſhewn, The foundations of its Liberty, with the cauſes of its Diviſions; and how the Factions of the Nobility and people, ended with the Tyranny of the Duke of *Athens*, and the ruine of the Gentry, there remains ſtill, to recount the Pickeerings between the Citizens and *Plebeians*, and what effects they produced. The power of the Nobility tamed, and the War with the Arch-Biſhop of *Millan* ended, one would have thought there had not been left in *Florence* any occaſion of ſcandal or diviſion; but the ill fortune of our City, and its want of good Orders, permitted a difference to ariſe between the Families of the *Albizi* and *Ricci*, which divided *Florence* no leſs; than that firſt of the *Buondelmonti* and *Uberti*, and afterwards of the *Donati* and *Cerchi* had done it. The Popes, whoſe Seat was now in *France*, and the Emperours, whoſe conſtant reſidence was now in *Germany*, to maintain their Reputation in *Italy*, at divers times had of divers Nations, ſent multitudes of Souldiers thither: Inſomuch, that at this time there were *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Britans*, and many others. Theſe (the Wars ended) being left without

Enmity between the *Albizi* and the *Ricci* in *Florence*.

without pay or entertainment, under a banner of Fortune, forced now one Prince, and then another, to come to Compoſition with them. And in the year 1353, comes one of theſe Companies into *Tuſcany*, commanded by *Monſigneur Reale*, a *Provincial*, whoſe coming frightned all the Cities of that Province; and *Florence* did not only on the account of the Publick make proviſion of Defence, but many private Citizens, and among them, the *Albizi* and *Ricci* took Arms for their particular ſafety. Theſe two had an implacable grudge in their hearts, and contrived all ways (the better to raiſe themſelves to the Principality) how to oppreſs each other; but yet they had not proceeded to blows; only they contended in the Magiſtracy, and in the Counſel. The City then being, upon this occaſion, all in Arms, there happened a Fray in the Old Market, where multitudes of People (as is uſual in like caſes) were aſſembled, and the Noiſe increaſing, word was carried to the *Ricci*, that the *Albizi* would aſſault them; and to the *Albizi*, that the *Ricci* were coming to fall upon them. Upon which the whole City riſe, and the Magiſtrates had much ado to reſtrain either of the Families, or hinder that fight, which by chance only, and neither Parties fault, was falſly rumoured. This accident (though a ſlight one) added fuel to the fire of their ſecret anger and malice, making each Party with more diligence endeavour and ſeek to gain him-

A fight like to happen by a falſe Rumour.

ſelf Aſſociates and Friends. And becauſe the Citizens, by the ruine of the Great men were reduced to ſuch an equality, that the Magiſtrates were had in much greater Reverence than before; they reſolved by the ordinary way, without any particular violence to oppreſs each other. We have declared before, that after the victory of *Charles* the firſt, the Magiſtracy was created wholly out of the faction of the *Guelfes*, ſo great authority had they gained over the *Ghibellines*; but Time, various Accidents, and new Diviſions, had ſo blotted out the memory of that Inſtitution, that many deſcended from the *Ghibellines*, got to be of the prime Miniſters of State. Whereupon *Uguccio de Ricci* laboured to get the Law againſt the *Ghibellines* renewed; the *Albizi* (according to the opinion of many) being deſcendants of that Faction; their Family having many years before, been Natives of *Azezzo*, and from thence come to dwell at *Florence*. Upon which *Uguccio* thought, that by renewing that Law he ſhould thruſt the *Albizi* from the Magiſtracy, concluding himſelf from that Clauſe, That any one deſcended from a *Ghibelline* ſhould be condemned, if he took upon him the office of a Magiſtrate. This deſign being diſcovered to *Peter* the Son of *Philip* of the *Albizi*, he determined to ſecond it, leaſt by ſingly approving it, he ſhould declare himſelf a *Ghibelline*. And this Law, thus (by the others Ambition) revived, inſtead

of

of taking away, added reputation to *Peter Albizi*; but vvas the cauſe of many miſchiefs that enſued. For no Law can be more hurtful and dangerous to a Commonwealth, than that which looks into times paſt: *Peter* therefore by favouring the reviſal of this Law, made vvhat his Enemies deſigned a hindrance to be a ſtep to his Greatneſs; for becoming Principal of this new Order, he ever after aſſumed more Authority, being the ſole Favourite of this nevv faction of *Guelfes*. And becauſe no Magiſtrate vvas appointed to ſearch out vvho vvere *Ghibellines*, and ſo this Law became of little ſtead, he took order that the Captains vvere appointed to make Inquiſition after the *Ghibellines*, and having found them out, admoniſh them, that they ſhould not take any Magiſtracy upon them; hence all thoſe in *Florence*, vvho vvere made incapable of bearing any Office, vvere called *Ammoniti* (or the *Admoniſhed*.) The Captains in a ſhort time grown bold in their nevv Charge, vvithout any kind of reſpect, not only admoniſhed thoſe vvho deſerved it, but vvhoever they thought fit; as their Avarice or Ambition led them. And, from the Year 1357, vvhen this Order firſt began, to the Year 1366, above tvvo hundred Citizens vvere admoniſhed. Whereby, the Captains, and the Faction of the *Guelfes*, vvere become ſo potent, that every one honoured them for fear of being admoniſhed; and eſpecially the Heads of them, vvhich vvere

The Laws againſt *Ghibellines*, revived.

The *Ammoniti*, what, and who.

1357.

Peter Albizi, *Meſſer Lapo de Caſtiglionchio*, and *Charles Strozzi*. And though this inſolent kind of proceeding diſpleaſed many, yet none were more afflicted than the *Ricci*, conſcious to themſelves of being the Authors of this diſorder; by which they beheld the Commonwealth ruined, and their Enemies (the *Albizi*) contrary to their intent, grown more powerful. Wherefore *Ugūccio de Ricci* coming to be one of the Lords, ſtrove to put an end to thoſe miſeries, which he and his Aſſociates had given a beginning to: And by a new Law provided, that to the ſix Captains of the Wards three ſhould be added; of which two to be choſen amongſt the meaneſt Handicrafts, enacting, That all declared *Ghibellines*, ſhould by twenty four Citizens, *Guelfes*, deputed in manner of a Grand Jury, be confirmed by full Verdict; Whereby the Captains Authority was ſomewhat qualified, and the trick of Admoniſhing began to grow cold: however the Factions of the *Albizi* and *Ricci* ſtood each upon their Guard, and in all Laws, Enterprizes or Counſels, were out of a particular hate, to each other contradictory. Under theſe diſtempers they labou-

Ugūccio de Ricci ſtrives to mitigate them.

1371. red from the Year 1366 to 1371, when the Faction of the *Guelfes* recovered its power. There was of the Family of the *Buondelmonti* a Cavalier called *Meſſer Beuchi*; who for his Valour in the War againſt the *Piſans*, was made one of the people, and conſequently capable of being elected,

and

and ſitting among the Senators: but when he expected to take his place in the Signory, a Law was made, that no Noble-man, though made one of the people, ſhould exerciſe that Office. This act mightily angred *Meſſer Benchi*, and joyning himſelf with *Peter Albizi*, they determined with the admonition, to cruſh the meaner people, and keep the whole Government to themſelves. And by virtue of the favour *Meſſer Benchi* had with the Ancient Nobility, and *Peter Albizi* with the powerful Commons, they revived the power of the *Guelph* Faction, and by a new Reformation of the Wards, ordered matters ſo, that the Captains and twenty four Citizens were at their diſpoſe: So, that now they grew bolder with their Admonitions than ever before, and the Houſe of the *Albizi*, as heads of this Faction, ſtill grew greater. On the other ſide, The *Ricci*, with their Colleagues, were not wanting to hinder their proceedings as much as in them lay; ſo that both lived in continual jealouſie, each daily fearing their ruine: For theſe Cauſes, many of the Citizens, ſtirred up out of love to their Country, met together in the Church of St. *Peter Scheraggio*; and reaſoning about theſe diſorders among themſelves, the Senate came thither; to whom, one of the greateſt Authority amongſt them, ſpoke in manner following. 'We were 'many of us doubtful, moſt Worthy Lords, 'of aſſembling our ſelves together upon a Publick

A meeting of the Commons about the preſent diſorders.

The *Speech* of one of them to the *Lords*.

'Publick occaſion by private orders, think-
'ing we might be cenſured as too preſump-
'tuous, or condemned as too Ambitious;
'but conſidering that many Citizens, with-
'out any notice taken of them, not for any
'Publick benefit, but to ſatisfie their own
'private Ambition, do daily in Streets and
'Houſes conferr together: We judged, That
'if they who aſſembled themſelves to con-
'ſult the ruine of the Common-wealth are
'not afraid, they ought leſs to ſtand in fear
'whoſe meeting is deſigned for Publick
'good and advantage; nor care we what
'others judge of us, ſince they eſteem not
'at all our Cenſures of them. That love
'(moſt Worthy *Lords*) which we bear our
'Country firſt aſſembled us here, and has
'now invited you hither, to reaſon of thoſe
'Miſchiefs already grown too great among
'us, and which violently increaſe in this
'our Republick, and to offer you our aſſi-
'ſtance to remedy them. In which, you
'may (though the undertaking be difficult)
'ſucceed, if laying aſide private Intereſt,
'you will with publick Power make uſe of
'your Authority. The common diſtem-
'per of all the Cities of *Italy*, has (*Wor-
'thy Lords*) infected, and does ſtill infect
'our City: for ſince this Province with-
'drew it ſelf from under the yoak of the
'Empire, the Cities in it (for want of a
'powerful bridle to curb them) have not
'ordered their Eſtates and Government as
'free, but like people divided into Sects

and

'and Factions: Hence ſprung all thoſe Miſ-
'chiefs, and all thoſe Diſorders which afflict
'them. There was not at firſt any union
'or friendſhip among the Citizens, unleſs
'among thoſe, combined together in ſome
'private Malice, or wickedneſs againſt their
'Country. And all fear of God, and re-
'ſpect to Religion, being baniſhed from a-
'mong men, Oaths and Faith-plighted are
'become of no farther avail, than as they
'redound to Profit, and Men make uſe of
'them, not to keep them, but that they
'may with more facility deceive; and the
'more eaſie and ſecure the cheat is, the
'more glory and praiſe is gained; Thus
'Wicked men are applauded as Induſtrious,
'and the Good reproached as Fools. And
'the truth is, that in whatever, either of it
'ſelf is Infectious, or can infect others is
'crouded and amaſſed together. The Young
'men are Idle, and the Old Laſcivious; and
'every Sex, and every Age is corrupted
'with evil Manners; to which, good Laws
'(over-ruled by bad Cuſtomes) can afford
'no remedy. Hence ariſes that Avarice we
'behold in our Citizens; and that appetite,
'not of true Glory, but of reproachful
'Honours, which beget hate, enmity, diſ-
'cord and faction; and theſe are the Pa-
'rents of Death, baniſhment, oppreſſion of
'Good men, and exaltation of Bad. For
'the Good, relying upon their Innocency, ſeek
'not like the Wicked extraordinary means
'of Defence and Honour, and ſo, undefended

and

'and unregarded, are ruined. From Exam-
'ple of which ſprings the love of Parties,
'and the ſame creates their power; for the
'wicked out of Avarice and Ambition, and
'the good out of neceſſity follow them:
'and what is moſt of all pernicious is, to
'ſee the Authors and movers of theſe Se-
'ditions, cloak their ends and intentions
'with a pious Name; for though they be
'all enemies of Liberty, they all oppreſs us
'under colour of ſetting up an *Ariſtocracy*,
'or a *Democracy*. For the reward of Vi-
'ctory which they aim at, is not, to have
'the glory of having freed the City; but
'the ſatisfaction of having o'recome others,
'and uſurped the Principality; whither
'having once reached, what Act is there ſo
'unjuſt, ſo cruel, or ſo Avaritious, which
'they will not attempt. Thus Laws and
'Ordinances are made for private, not for
'publick Intereſt. Hence War, and Peace,
'and Alliances are contracted, not for ge-
'neral Glory, but particular ſatisfaction;
'and if other Cities are ſullied with theſe
'ſpots, ours is blotted all over; for the
'Laws, Statutes, and Civil Edicts, are not
'made or enacted in order to the peoples
'freedom, but according to the Ambition
'of that Party has got the upper hand;
'whence it follows, that one Party driven
'out, and one Faction extinct, another pre-
'ſently ſtarts up. For in that City that
'would maintain it ſelf by Parties rather
'than by Law, as ſoon as any Party comes

to

'to remain in it without any oppoſition, it
'muſt of neceſſity divide within it ſelf; for
'it cannot defend it ſelf from thoſe peculiar
'Acts, which for its own ſafety it at firſt eſta-
'bliſhed. And this to be a Truth, both the An-
'cient and Modern diviſions of our City teſti-
'fie. Every one thought (the *Ghibellines* once
'deſtroyed) the *Guelphs* might for a long
'time have lived in honour and happineſs. Yet
'ſoon after they were divided into *Bianchi*
'and *Neri*. At laſt the *Bianchi* overcome,
'yet the City never was free from Factions.
'Sometimes we were fighting in favour of
'the Exiles; ſometimes to decree the quar-
'rel between the Nobles and People: and at
'length (giving others what we our ſelves
'could not, or would not poſſeſs in quiet)
'we ſubmitted our Liberty firſt to King
'*Robert*, then to his Brother, then to his
'Son, and laſt of all to the Duke of *Athens*.
'Yet in no ſtate or condition could we find
'repoſe, but were like people who could
'neither agree to live in Freedom, nor be
'content with Servitude. Nor were we a-
'ſhamed (ſo far are our very Conſtitutions
'diſpoſed to Diviſion) whilſt yet we lived
'under the Kings Authority, to *poſtpone*
'the Majeſty of a Prince, to the government
'of a Vile man born in *Agobbio*. For the
'Honour of this City we ſhould forbear any
'mention of the Duke of *Athens*, whoſe
'Cruel and Tyrannical carriage ſhould have
'made us Wiſe, and taught us how to live:
'Yet, no ſooner was he driven hence, but

our

'our Arms were in our hands, and we, with 'more Rancour and Malice than ever we 'had done before, fighting one againſt 'another, till the Ancient Nobility was 'quite ſuppreſſed and ſubmitted to the Ar-'bitriment of the people. And now many 'promiſed themſelves, there would never 'more be any occaſion of Scandal or Divi-'ſion in *Florence*; they being now bridled 'whoſe Pride and inſupportable Ambition 'was judged the cauſe of all. But we this 'day ſee by Experience, how fallacious the 'Thoughts of man are; and how falſe his 'Judgment; for the Pride and Ambition of 'the Nobles was not rooted out, but tranſ-'planted into the people, who now purſuing 'ſwiftly the footſteps of thoſe Ambitious 'men, ſeek to attain the higheſt degrees in 'the Commonwealth; and having no o-'ther way to climb within reach of them, 'but Diſcord, divided the City afreſh, re-'viving again the names of *Guelph* and *Ghi-'belline*, which were quite forgot, and 'which it had been well for this Common-'wealth if we never had known. Heaven 'has ordain'd (to the end, nothing humane 'ſhould boaſt either perpetuity or conſtan-'cy) that all Commonwealths ſhould har-'bour ſome fatal Families, born only for 'their ruine. With theſe, our Republick 'has more than any other abounded; for 'not one, but many have been diſturbers 'and afflicters of it; as firſt the *Buondel-'monti* and *Uberti*, then the *Donati* and

Corchi,

'*Corchi*, and now (Oh ſhameful and ridi-
'culous!) the *Ricci* and *Albizi* diſturb and
'divide us. We have not put you in mind
'of our Corrupt manners, and Ancient
'and continual Diviſions, to terrifie you;
'but to refreſh your memories with the oc-
'caſions from whence they ſprung, and to let
'you ſee that we remember them as well as
'you: and withal to tell you, that former
'Examples ſhould not make you deſpair of
'ſuppreſſing theſe. For thoſe Ancient Fa-
'milies were ſo mighty, and their Power
'with Princes ſo great, that Civil ways and
'means were not ſufficient to bridle them.
'But, now that the Empire is weak, and
'the Pope no longer to be dreaded, but all
'*Italy*, and this City, brought in an Equa-
'lity, that they may of themſelves Govern
'themſelves, the difficulty is not great. And
'this our Republick may, (notwithſtanding
'old Examples ſeem to contradict it) not
'only maintain it ſelf United, but reform
'it ſelf with good Manners and civil Con-
'ſtitutions. Provided your *Lordſhips* diſ-
'poſe your ſelves to the Work; to which,
'we, moved out of Charity to our Country,
'and not out of any private paſſion, exhort
'you: And though the Reformation of a
'State be in it ſelf a weighty task, yet do
'but take away thoſe diſtempers that afflict
'it, that rage which frets it, and that poy-
'ſon that ſwells it; and impute the an-
'cient Diſorders not to the Nature of the
'men, but to the Times, which being
changed

'changed, you may now by applying bet-
'ter Rules, hope for better Succeſs; for the
'Malignity may vvith prudence be over-
'come, by putting a bridle to the Ambition
'of Diſturbers; aboliſhing thoſe Laws which
'are the Nouriſhers of Sedition, and ena-
'cting ſuch as are congruous to true Civili-
'ty and Liberty. And apply your ſelves
'as ſoon as you can, to do it by the gentle
'and favourable aſſiſtance of Laws, leaſt if
'you delay, men be conſtrained to do it by
'force of Arms. The *Lords* touched to the
quick vvith vvhat they vvere before Con-
ſcious of, and moved vvith their Authority
and Exhortations, gave Commiſſion to
56 Citizens to provide for the ſafety of
the Commonwealth. It's moſt true that
many heads are more proper to keep firm
and ſtable good Conſtitutions, than to in-
vent nevv ones. Theſe Citizens conſulted
more hovv to quell the preſent Factions,
than to remove opportunities or occaſions of
future Diviſions, and at length attained nei-
ther to one nor the other; for occaſions of
nevv Factions they took not away, and from
theſe vvhich they vvatcht over, they raiſed
up one more potent, and dangerous to the
Republick. However, three of the Family
of the *Albizi*, and three of the *Ricci* (of
vvhich *Peter Albizi* and *Uguccio Ricci* vvere
two) they made incapable for three years, of
bearing any Office in the Magiſtracy (ex-
cepting, that on the Party of the *Guelphs.*)
They likewiſe prohibited all Citizens entring
the

The Lords moved with the Peoples repreſentation of Affairs; and appoint a Committee of Safety.

the Palace, unleſs in ſuch times as the Magiſtrates Sat. They enacted, that whoever was beaten, or had their Goods unlawfully detained, might, by Petition, accuſe the Parties to the Councils, and having Convicted them, leave it to their Sentence. This Order took away all power from the Faction of the *Ricci*, and increaſed that of the *Albizi*; for although they were equally marked, yet the *Ricci* ſuffered the moſt. For though *Peter* were ſhut out of the Palace of the Lords, yet that of the *Guelfes*, where he had the greateſt Authority, was open to him, and if he and his Followers were before warm in giving out their Admonitions, they now grew throughly hot; and to this ill diſpoſition new diſguſts were added. Pope *Gregory* the *Eleventh* ſat now in the Chair, and reſiding in *Avignion*, governed (as his Predeceſſours had done) *Italy* by his Legates, who being generally proud and Covetous, had afflicted many Cities. One of theſe being about this time at *Bolonia*, took occaſion from the Famine which was that year in *Florence*, and thought to make himſelf Lord of *Toſcany*, and not only forbore to ſupply the *Florentines* with Proviſion, but to put them out of hopes of any Harveſt: for no ſooner did the Spring appear, but he invaded them with a great Army, hopeing he might, finding them diſarmed and half ſtarved, eaſily ſubdue them. And poſſibly he had ſped in his Enterprize, had not his Army been Treacherous and Mercenary.

Pope's Legate invades *Florence*.

For the *Florentines* ſeeing no other remedy, gave his Souldiers 130000 *Florins*, and made them relinquiſh the Attempt. We may begin Wars when we pleaſe, but cannot end them ſo; This War begun by the Ambition of the Legate, was continued by the Revenge of the *Florentines*, who entred into League with *Meſſer Bernaby*, and all thoſe Cities which were Enemies to the Church; and they created a Council of Eight Citizens to manage this War, giving them power to act without Appeal, and ſpend without Account. This War againſt the Church, notwithſtanding that *Ugueccio* was dead, ſomewhat raiſed up the heads of the Faction of the *Ricci*, who had allwaies in oppoſition to the *Albizi* favoured Meſſer *Barnaby*, and disfavoured the Church; and the more, becauſe the Council of the Eight were all Enemies to the Family of the *Guelphs*; which made *Peter Albizi*, Meſſer *Lapo de Caſtiglionchio*, *Charles Strozzi*, and many more, conſult together how they might offend their Enemies. And whilſt the *Eight* made War, they admoniſhed. The War laſted three years, and determined not but with the Popes death; and was managed with ſo much Valour and Univerſal ſatisfaction, that the Magiſtracy was every year prorogued to the *Eight*, and they were called *Saints*, though they ſlighted Excommunications, and ſpoiled the Churches, and forced the Clergy, ſo much greater value ſet thoſe Citizens of that time upon their

The *Florentines* make War againſt the Church.

their City than their Souls, letting the Church underſtand, that as its Friends they could defend it, ſo as its Enemies they could afflict it: for they made all *Romania*, *La Marca*, and *Perugia* rebel: But whilſt they made ſo ſucceſsful a War againſt the Pope, they could not againſt the Captains of the Wards and their Faction defend themſelves; for the Envy the *Guelphs* bore to the Council of *Eight*, gave an addition to their boldneſs, ſo that to omit what they did to other Noble Citizens, they could not abſtain from injuring ſome of the *Eight* themſelves. And to ſuch Arrogance were the Captains of the Wards arrived, that they were more feared than the Senatours, and with leſs reverence were Addreſſes made to theſe than to them, and more was the Palace of that Faction in Eſteem than theirs, inſomuch that there came no Ambaſſadours to *Florence*, but who had Commiſſion to the Captains. Pope *Gregory* then being dead, and the City having no more Wars abroad, yet lived within in great Confuſion; for on one ſide the Arrogancy of the *Guelphs* was inſupportable, and on the other they could perceive no way to quell it; but they judged it a forced-put to come to a tryal by dint of Sword, and ſee which of the two Parties could prevail. On the *Guelphs* ſide were all the Ancient Nobles, with moſt of the ableſt Citizens, among whom as we ſaid Meſſer *Lapo*, *Peter* and *Charles* were the principal: On the

other were all the meaner ſort of the People, of whom the Leaders were the Council of *Eight*, Commiſſioners of the War, Meſſer *George Scali*, *Thomas Strozzi*, to whom the *Ricci*, *Alberti* and *Medici* adhered. The remainder of the Multitude, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, joyned themſelves with the diſcontented Party. The Chiefs of the Faction of the *Guelphs* began to think their Enemies ſtrength formidable, and their danger great, whenever a *Signory* chancing to be choſen out of their Enemies, ſhould preſs down the Ballance: which thinking good to prevent they met together, where they diligently examined the ſtate of the City, and their own Condition, and upon the whole, it appeared to them that the Admoniſhed (being increaſed to ſuch Numbers) had laid ſuch a load of Infamy upon them, that the whole City was become their Enemies. To which they ſaw no other remedy, but as they had taken their Honours from them, ſo to drive them out of the City; poſſeſſing themſelves by force of the Palace of the Lords, and ſeizing all the Government into their own hands; in Imitation of the Ancient *Guelphs*, who had never lived ſecurely in the City, had they not chaſed thence all their Adverſaries: Every one agreed to the thing, but they diſagreed in the time. It was now the Year 1378, and the Month of *April*, and Meſſer *Lapo* thought it not fit to delay time, affirming nothing ſo prejudicial to Time as Time,

The Guelphs plot to ſeize the Government.

1378.

Time, eſpecially to them, conſidering that in the next *Signory*, *Silveſter Medici* might eaſily be made *Gonfaloniere*, whoſe they knew an Enemy to their Party. On the other ſide *Peter Albizi* was for ſome time of reſpit; for he judged it neceſſary to have ſome Forces in a readineſs, and thoſe could not be well gathered together without diſcovery, and a diſcovery muſt needs be very dangerous; he therefore propoſed the deferring it till St. *John's* day near at hand; at which time, that being the ſolemneſt Feſtival the City kept, ſuch Multitudes would be running thither, that they might hide whom and as many as they pleaſed; and to ſecure them from the ſeat of *Sylveſter* he would admoniſh him; and leaſt that ſhould not do, he put into the Election one of the Fraternity of his quarter, ſo that drawing out the Lots (the Purſes being empty) the Lot might probably light on ſome other of his Companions. Upon this then they determined, though Meſſer *Lapo* was much againſt it, judging Delay dangerous, and alledging, that no time in the World was ever convenient in all points; ſo that he that waits till every thing falls to his mind, muſt either never attempt any thing, or if he does attempt, do it to his diſadvantage. They therefore admoniſhed the Fraternity, but it would not do, nor could they hinder *Silveſter* from being choſen; for the Council of *Eight* perceiving the Trick, prevented the Chang from

being drawn. *Silveſter de Alammano de Medici* was thereupon allow'd for *Gonfaloniere*. He being of one of the greateſt Families among the people could not endure to ſee the Commons oppreſſed by a few Rich men; and having in himſelf determined to ſuppreſs this Inſolency, ſeeing the *Plæbeians* favourable to him, and many of the Richeſt of the People inclinable, he communicated his deſign to *Bennet Alberti*, *Thomas Strozzi*, and Meſſer *George Scali*, who promiſed to bring him all the help they could. They therefore privately formed a Law which renewed the Orders of Juſtice againſt the Grandees, retrenched the power of the Captains of the Wards, and made way for the Admoniſhed to be recall'd to their Dignities: and that in the ſame time they might make tryal and obtain, having firſt the Colledge, and then the Councils to debate with, and *Silveſter* being Provoſt (which degree, for the time it laſts, makes him as it were a Prince of the City,) on the ſame morning Summons the Colledge and Councils; and firſt to the Colledge, apart from the other, propoſes the Law to be enacted; which, as a new thing, met with ſo much diſlike, that though the Number aſſembled were but few, he could not obtain it. Whereupon *Silveſter* ſeeing, that Force was the readieſt way to get it granted, he pretends to go out upon a neceſſary occaſion, and ere any one was aware of him, hyes him to the Council, and mounting on

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a place where every one might ſee and hear him, tells them: *That he thought he had been choſen* Gonfaloniere, *not to be Judge of private Cauſes, for which ordinary Judges were appointed; but to watch for the Common-wealth, to correct the Inſolence of the Mighty, and temper thoſe Laws, by the abuſe of which, the Republick was now running to ruine: That he had with diligence and Care weighed theſe things, and, as far as in him lay, made due proviſion; but the Malignity of men oppoſing his juſt Intentions, his power of doing Good was taken away, and they might hear, but could no more debate it. Wherefore, ſeeing he could no longer be helpful to the Common-wealth, he knew not why he ſhould hold that Magiſtracy, which either indeed he did not deſerve, or at leaſt, others thought he did not; and therefore he would retire home, that the People might chooſe in his place, one of greater Virtue, or better Fortune than himſelf.* And concluding theſe words, he went out of the Council towards his Houſe. Thoſe who were in the Council, and privy to the matter, and others deſirous of Novelty, preſently raiſed a Rumour, to which the *Lords* and the *Colledge* ran; and ſeeing their *Gonfaloniere* going away, with Intreaties and Authority they ſtopt him, and made him return into the Council, which was now in a Tumult. And many Prime Citizens were threatned with Injurious words, among whom *Charles Strozzi* was by an Artificer taken by the throat, and he would

have killed him, had not the ſtanders by vvith much ado reſcued him: but he that moſt of all encouraged the Tumult, and drew the City to Arms was *Bennet Alberti*, vvho from the Palace vvindows vvith a loud voice cryed out to Arms, and preſently the vvhole place vvas full of Armed men: Whereupon the *Colledge*, vvho firſt of all upon Intreaty vvould not yield, now threatned and terrified, conſented. The Captains of the Wards at the ſame time had aſſembled a great many Citizens in their Palace, to Conſult, vvhat they ſhould do to defend themſelves againſt the Orders of the *Lords*. But vvhen they heard the Alarum, and underſtood vvhat vvas determined in Council, every man fled to his Houſe. However, let none raiſe an alteration in a City, upon a fond belief, that he can ſtop it vvhen he pleaſes, and reſtrain it as he liſt. 'Twas *Silveſter*'s intention by creating this Law, to quiet the City, but it ſucceeded otherwiſe; for the Humours once moved had in ſuch a manner incenſed every one, that the Shops vvere not opened: but the Citizens fortified themſelves in their Houſes, and many hid their Goods in Churches and Monaſteries, as if all feared an approaching danger. The Company of the Artizans Aſſembled, and each body choſe them a *Syndic*; vvhereupon the Priors Summoned their *Colledge* and thoſe the *Syndics*, and had a vvhole days Conſultation how the City might, to every ones ſatisfaction, be quieted; but being of different

different Judgments they could not agree. The day following the Artizans drew forth their Banners, which the Lords hearing, and doubting what might follow, Summoned the Council to consult a remedy: but scarce was it Assembled, and the Rumour spread abroad, but presently the Enligns of the Trades, and Multitudes of Armed men following them, were in the place. Whereupon the Council, to give the Trades and People wherewith to content their hopes, gave general power, which they call in *Florence* BALIA, to the *Lords*, the *Colledges*, and the *Eight*, the *Captains* of the Wards, and the *Syndics* of the Trades, to reform the State for the best advantage to the Publick: But whilst this was concluding, some of the Companies of the Trades, together with the Rabble, (set on by those who desired to revenge the late Injuries received from the *Guelphs*) separating themselves from the rest, sackt, and burnt the Palace of Messer *Lapo de Castiglionchio*, who, as soon as he heard the *Signory* was attempting something against the Ordinances of the *Guelphs*, and saw the People in Arms, having no other remedy, but either to conceal himself, or fly, first hid himself in the Monastery of the *Holy-Cross*, and thence in a Fryers Habit fled to *Carentino*, where he was often heard repent, that ever he had consented to *Peter Albizi*, and to rail at *Peter*, for having moved the forbearing to seize the Government till St. *John's Day*. But

Lapo Castiglionchio's House burnt by the People.

Peter

Peter and *Charles Strozzi*, in the first beginning of the Tumults, hid themselves, believing (they once over) they had Kindred and Friends enough to secure their stay in *Florence*. Messer *Lapo*'s House burnt, (for Mischiefs are hardly begun, but easily run on) many other Houses were, either out of general Hatred, or private Malice, sackt and burnt: And, that they might have Companions that with more skill in Villany might assist them in plundring other mens Goods, they broke open the publick Prisons, afterwards they sackt the Monastery of St. *Agnolo*, and the *Convent* of the *Holy Spirit*, where many Citizens had hid their Goods. Nor had the publick Treasury scaped the hands of these Thieves, if by their respect and reverence to one of the *Lords*, it had not been defended, who on Horse-back, with many men at Arms following him, in the best manner he could, opposed himself to the rage of the Multitude. At length, the popular Fury somewhat mitigated, what by the Authority of the *Lords*, and what by the approach of Night; the day following the *Balia* extended their Favours to the Admonished, but on condition they should not for three years bear any Office in the Magistracy. They annulled all Laws made by the *Guelphs*, in prejudice of the Citizens. They proclaimed Rebels *Lapo de Castiglionchio* and his Consorts with some others generally hated. After which, the New *Lords* were declared, to whom

Many other Houses burnt.

The Multitude appeased.

was

was *Gonfaloniere*, *Lewis Guiccardine*, which gave great hopes of putting a ſtop to all Tumults, becauſe every one had an opinion they were Peacable men, and lovers of the publick Repoſe: Yet the Shops were not open'd, nor did the Citizens lay down their Arms, but kept ſtrong Guards up and down the City: wherefore the Lords received not the Magiſtracy without the Palace, with the uſual Pomp, but within, and there too vvithout the obſervation of any Ceremony. Theſe Senates judged nothing of more concern could be done in the beginning of their Magiſtracy, than pacifying the City; wherefore they made them lay down their Arms, open their Shops, and ſent thoſe Countrymen the Citizens had called in to their Aſſiſtance home; they placed Guards in many places of the City, ſo that, if the Admoniſhed could have been quiet, the City had been at Peace; but they were not content to ſtay three years for their Honours, inſomuch, that the Trades once more drew together in their favour, and demanded of the Senate, that, for the good and quiet of the City, they would enact, that for the future no Citizen, in no time, either of the Senate, the Colledge, or Fraternities, the Captains of the Wards, or Conſuls of the Trades, ſhould be Admoniſhed as *Ghibelline*; and that moreover new Purſes ſhould be made of the *Guelph* Party, and the Old ones burnt. Theſe demands were not only by the *Lords* of the Senate, but by all the Coun-

The new *Lords* ſtrive to quiet the City.

The Admoniſhed cauſe of new Stirs.

Councils preſently accepted: So that now it was generally thought theſe new raiſed Tumults would be ſtopt too; but becauſe men can never be ſatisfied with recovering their own, but are greedy likewiſe to ſeize ſomewhat of other mens in Revenge; thoſe whoſe hopes and Stock lay in theſe diſorders, put it in the Peoples heads, That they could never be ſafe unleſs many of their Enemies were driven out and deſtroyed: which being repreſented to the *Lords*, they ſummoned before them the Magiſtrates of the Trades, with their *Syndics*, to whom *Lewis Guiccardine*, *Gonfaloniere*, ſpoke in this manner: *Had not theſe Lords, and I together with them, known long time ſince the Fortune of this City, that as ſoon as Wars are ceaſed abroad they muſt begin at home, we ſhould have much wondred at theſe Tumults that have happened, and taken them more to heart: but, becauſe things we are accuſtomed to, bring leſs trouble along with them, we have born the paſt Riots with patience; eſpecially, ſince they were without any fault of ours begun, and hoping they, according to former Examples, would have an end, when we had complyed with you in ſo many great and weighty Demands; but, ſeeing that you are not Appeaſed, nay, rather that you would we acting freſh Injuries againſt the Citizens, condemning them to Exile and Death, our diſpleaſure is increaſed with your Injuſtice: And truly, had we believed that in the time of our Magiſtracy, this our City, either by Oppoſing*

The *Gonfaloniers* Speech to the People.

or

or Complying with you, muſt have been ruined, we had either by Death or Baniſhment freed our ſelves from theſe Honours. But judging we were to meet with men that had in them ſome Humanity, and love to their Country, we willingly undertook the Magiſtracy, believing that our Clemency would over-rule your Ambition. But now we find by Experience, that the more humbly we deport our ſelves to you, and the more we grant you, the prouder ſtill you grow, and the more extravagant are your Demands. And if we tell you this, 'tis not to offend you, but to make you take it into conſideration; for we would have another tell you what pleaſes you, but we muſt tell you what is for your good. Tell me now upon your honeſty, tell us What is it you can Civily deſire of us, which we have not granted? You would have the Captains of the Wards Authority taken away; Done it is. You would have the Purſes burnt, and reformed ones to be made; We have conſented to it. You would have the Admoniſhed reſtored to their Honours; The requeſt is admitted. At your deſire, we have pardoned thoſe that burnt and ſackt the Houſes, and have ſent into Baniſhment many Honourable and worthy Citizens, only for your ſatisfaction. The power of the great is to pleaſe you, by new Laws reſtrained. What end will you put to your deſires; or how long will you abuſe your Liberty? Are you not moved, to behold us with more patience bear the Defeat, than you the Victory? To what will theſe Diviſions bring this City? Do not

you

you remember how, when you were once divided, Caſtrucchio *a mean Citizen of* Lucca, *over-awed you: That the Duke of* Athens *a private Leader, ſubjected you? but when you were United, not an Arch-biſhop of* Millan, *nay not a Pope could do it; but after ſome years Wars were forced to deſiſt with ſhame. Why will you, with your Diſcords in time of Peace, enſlave that City, which ſo many powerful Enemies in time of War left free? What can you expect from your Diviſions but Servitude? or, What hope from the Goods you have ſtollen, or ſhall ſteal, but Poverty? For you have taken from thoſe, who with their Induſtry maintained our whole City; whom ſpoiling of their Goods, you ſpoil the City of her Nouriſhment? For thoſe who have ſeized them, being ill-got-Goods, will never know how to keep them; whence of neceſſity muſt follow Hunger and Poverty in the City. I, and theſe Lords, Command you, and if Honour will permit it, Intreat you, that you would once ſettle your minds, and reſt ſatisfied with what we have enacted in your favour; or, if you would yet have any thing more, deſire it Civilly, and make not your Demands with Arms and Tumult: for whilſt you are juſt and reaſonable, you ſhall alwaies be pleaſed; give not then opportunity to Wicked men, at your Coſt and Charge, and under your Protection, to ruine this your Country.* Theſe words (becauſe they were true) touched thoſe Citizens to the Soul, and they kindly thanked the *Gonfaloniere*, for having acted

acted with them like a good Lord, and with the City like a good Citizen, offering ready Obedience to whatever was committed to them. And to put them in a way to perform their Promiſe, the Lords deputed two Citizens for each of the Chief Magiſtracies, who together with the *Syndics* of the Trades, were to Conſult of what was neceſſary for eſtabliſhing publick Peace, and refer it to the Lords. Whilſt theſe things were in Agitation, aroſe another Tumult, which more than any of the former diſturbed the Common-wealth. Moſt of the Burnings and Robberies happened the days preceding, were committed by the very ſcum of the People; and thoſe who had been the boldeſt and forwardeſt among them ſtood in fear, that when the greater Differences were quieted and compoſed, they ſhould be called to account, and puniſhed for their Villanies, and, as it alwaies happens, be left forſaken by thoſe who had ſet them on: to which was added, the Hatred which the Labouring people bore to the Wealthy Citizens, and Maſters of Trades, not believing themſelves ſo well ſatisfied for their labour as they juſtly deſerved. For in the time of *Charles* the *Firſt*, when the City was divided into Trades, every one had a Maſter or Governour; and it was enacted, that in all Civil Cauſes thoſe Maſters ſhould be Judges between the Inferiour people of that Trade. Theſe Trades, as we have ſaid before, were at firſt but XII; in proceſs of time

Another Tumult worſe than the former.

time they came to be XXI, and grew to ſuch power, that in fevv years they took upon them the Government of the vvhole City. And, becauſe among them there vvere ſome Trades more Honourable, and ſome leſs, they vvere divided, and VII vvere called the Greater, and XIV the Leſs. From this Diviſion, and other Cauſes before recited, ſprung the Arrogance of the Captains of the Companies; for thoſe Citizens vvho had Anciently been *Guelphs*, and under vvhoſe Jurisdiction that Magiſtracy vvas alwaies Sworn, alwaies favoured the people of the higher Degrees, and perſecuted thoſe of the Meaner, with their Friends and Defenders; and hence aroſe the many Tumults we have related amongſt them; but becauſe, ordinarily, many of thoſe Handicrafts, to which the Meaneſt of the People applyed themſelves, vvere annexed to the bodies of other Trades, without having particular Companies of their own Arts, but ſubmitting themſelves according to their various myſteries to others; it often happened out that when either they were not ſatisfied for their labour, or thought themſelves any way oppreſſed by their Maſters, they had no other refuge, but to the Magiſtrate of that Trade which governed them, whom they thought did not do them equall Juſtice: and of all the Companyes that had ſuch people under them, the *Wool-trade* had the moſt, which was the richeſt, firſt, and moſt powerful of all, and which by their induſtry fed, and does feed, the greateſt part of the meaneſt

meaneſt and labouring people. The *Plebeians* then, as well thoſe of the *Woollen-Drapers*-Company as of the others, being mightily enraged for the reaſons above expreſſed, and withall, full of fear for the Riots and Robberies they had committed, met many times together by night, diſcourſing the Matters had happened, and laying before one another the danger they were in; where one of the boldeſt, and of the greateſt experience, to animate the reſt ſpoke thus: *Were we now to conſult, whether we were to take Arms, to burn, and rob the houſes of the Citizens, or violate the Churches, I ſhould be one of thoſe ſhould judge it fit to be firſt conſidered, and poſſibly adviſe it as better, to be content with quiet Poverty, then hazardous Gain; But ſince Armes are taken up and many miſchiefs done, I think our buſineſs is to conſult how we may not here leave off, or if we do, how we ſhall ſecure our ſelves for what's paſt. I am of the mind, were there nothing elſe to teach us, Neceſſity it ſelf does it. You ſee all the City filled with Complaints, and Hatred againſt us; the Citizens conſulting, and the Lords contriving with the Magiſtrates: believe me, They are enacting Halters, and ſtudying ſnares, to entrap us. Two things we are therefore to look to; Firſt, That we may not for what's done, be to morrow puniſhed; and then, That we may hereafter live with more liberty and ſatisfaction then formerly: To the firſt, 'Tis in my Judgment convenient, that to procure pardon for our former Faults, we Commit new, adding*

The ſpeech of a *Plebeian* to encourage his Fellows to Villany.

ding Miſchief to Miſchief, doubling our Robberyes, and Ruines, and endeavouring to engage what Companions we can, for where all offend, none are puniſhed; and ſmall Faults are corrected, but great Crimes rewarded; for where many Suffer, few ſeek Revenge: General injuryes being born with more patience, then particular ones. The multiplying then of our Miſchiefs, will be the meanes to get no pardon, and ſet us in a path to arrive at thoſe ſweets of Liberty we deſire. And in my mind, the purchaſe is certain, for thoſe who ſhould hinder us from it are divided and Rich; their Diviſions will give us the Victory, and their Riches, (becoming ours) maintain it: Nor let that Antiquity of Blood, with which they upbraid us, affright you: All men having had the ſame beginning, are equal in Blood; and all made after the ſame manner? Let's be all ſtript naked, and we ſhall appear the ſame. Put us in their Cloaths, and them in ours, and without doubt we ſhall look like Nobles, and they like Labourers; for nothing but Poverty and Riches makes a difference among men. It greives me to hear, that many of you are troubled in Conſcience for what's already done, and are loath to do any more; and certainly, if it be true, you are not the men I took you for; for neither Conſcience nor Infamy ſhould terrify you; thoſe that overcome (let them overcome how they will) have no reaſon to be aſhamed; A fig then for Conſcience; ſhall we that are in daily fear of being ſtarved or thrown into a Coal, be frightned with a ſtory of Hell? If you had

had but obſerved the courſe of the World, you would perceive, that all they which have attained to great Wealth or Power, have got it, either by Fraud or Force, and what they have thus uſurped by Deceit or Violence, to mask the vitiouſneſs of the Action, they call by the title of Honeſt gain, and thoſe who for want of wit, or tenderneſs of Conſcience, eſchew theſe courſes, are alwayes beggers and ſlaves; for the faithful Servant muſt alwaies be a Servant, and Honeſt men always poor: none free themſelves from Servitude, but the faithleſs and the bold; nor from Poverty, but the rapacious and fraudulent: For God and Nature has ſo diſtributed the Fortunes of men that more are inclined to Rapine than Induſtry, and more diſpoſed to do miſchief than to do good. Hence proceeds it that men devour one another, and he alwayes comes by the worſt, that dares the leaſt. We ought therefore to make uſe of that power Fortune puts in our hands, which could never be offered us in a better time; the Citizens being ſtill divided, the Senators fearful, the Magiſtrates Terrifyed, ſo that it is an eaſy matter, before they unite and gather Courage, to oppreſs them: Whereupon we ſhall remain abſolute Lords of the City, or at leaſt owners of ſo much as will enable us not only to procure pardon for our paſt Offences, but authorize us to threaten new. I confeſs the attempt is bold and dangerous, but where neceſſity pinches, Boldneſs is judged prudence, and men never weigh Danger in great attempts; for thoſe enterprizes that are begun with Danger, end with Glory; and we ne-

ver can eſcape out of one Danger, but by another: And ſure, when we behold Priſons, torments, and Death preparing, we ought rather to fear their infliction on us, then think our ſelves ſecure, for the pains are certain, but the ſafety doubtful. How often have I heard you complain of the Covetouſneſs of your Superiours, and the Injuſtice of your Magiſtrates? Now is the time, not only to free your ſelves from them, but to advance your ſelves to ſuch a Superiority over them; that they ſhall have more reaſon to complain, and fear, than you. But the Opportunity which time has brought us is flying away, and in vain; when it is once paſt ſhall we ſtrive to recall it? You ſee the preparations of our Enemies; let us prevent them in their very Thoughts; for the firſt of us that gets to Arms, will doubtleſs be the Conquerour, to the ruine of his Enemy, and advancement of his own Party; whereby many of us ſhall get Honour, and all Safety. Theſe perſwaſions ſet their minds a boiling, which were before hot enough for any Miſchief; whereupon they determined to take Arms, as ſoon as they had drawn more Accomplices to their Party, binding themſelves by Oaths to ſuccour each other, whenever any of them ſhould be oppreſſed by the Magiſtrate. Whilſt they were thus preparing to deſtroy the Republic, their deſign was diſcovered to the Lords; wherefore they got one *Simon* of the *Piazza* into their hands, from whom they learnt the whole Conſpiracy, and how the day following the

Riot

Riot would begin. Whereupon, ſeeing their danger, they ſummoned the Colledges, and thoſe Citizens, who, together with the *Syndics* of the Trades, were to conſult about the uniting of the City: The Evening was come upon them before all were Aſſembled, and the Lords were then by them adviſed to ſend for the Conſuls of the Trades, who all with one conſent Counſelled them, That all the men of Arms in *Florence* ſhould be drawn together, and that the Standard-bearers of the People ſhould, in the Morning early, be with their Companies Armed in the place before the Palace. One *Nicholas* of *Sanfriano* was putting in order the Clock of the Palace, whilſt *Simon* was Tormenting, and the Citizens were Aſſembling, and having underſtood what the matter was, returning to his Houſe, he filled all the Neighbourhood with the Clamour, inſomuch that on a ſuddain, in the place of the *Holy Spirit*, there were above a thouſand men Aſſembled. This Rumour preſently ſpread among the other Conſpirators, and Great St. *Peters*, and St. *Lawrences*, were in an inſtant filled with Armed men. Whilſt at the approach of day, which was the 21 of *July*, there appeared not above Eighty men at Arms in the *Piazza* to ſide with the Senators, and not one of the Standard-bearers; for they hearing the whole City was in Arms, were afraid to ſtir out of their Houſes. The firſt Band of the *Plebeians* that poſſeſſed the *Piazza*, were thoſe

who had Rendezvouz'd at Great St. *Peters*; at whoſe Arrival the men at Arms moved not: Preſently the reſt appeared, and not meeting any Oppoſition, with loud and terrible Out-cries demanded the Priſoners from the Signory, and to have them by Force, ſince they were not ſurrendred; they fell to burning the Houſe of *Lewis Guiccardine*; whereupon the Lords, for fear of worſe, reſigned them up; and having got them, they took away the Standard of *Juſtice* from the Executor, and under it burnt the Houſes of many Citizens, perſecuting all whom for private or publick Reaſons they hated; and many Citizens, to wreak their private Malice and Revenge, particular Injuries led them to the Houſes of their Enemies: for there needed nô more, than Crying-out amidſt the Multitude, To ſuch a Houſe, or ſuch an Houſe, and he that carryed the Standard turned towards it. Having done a great deal of Miſchief, to allay it with ſome worthy Act, they made *Silveſter de Medici*, and ſo many other Citizens Knights, that the whole number amounted to 64, among whom were *Bennet* and *Anthony Alberti*, *Thomas Strozzi*, and ſuch like of their Confidents, though many likewiſe they made by force: but that which in this Accident was very remarkable, was, To ſee them burn many Houſes, and make the Owners the very ſame day Knights, (ſo cloſe did their Favours follow their Injuries) whereof *Lewis Guiccardine*, *Gonfalo-*

niere

niere of Juſtice was one. The *Lords* in the midſt of ſo much Tumult, ſeeing themſelves Abandoned by the men at Arms, the Heads of the Trades, and their own Standard-bearers, were aſtoniſhed; for none purſuant to the Orders given came to their aſſiſtance, and of ſixteen Standards, only that of the *Golden Lion*, and that of the *Cow* and *Calf*, with *John Cambi* appeared: And theſe ſtayed but a ſhort time in the *Piazza*, for ſeeing no others follow them, they likewiſe marched off. The Citizens on the other ſide, beholding the Fury of this raging Multitude, and the Palace forſaken, kept ſome within their Houſes, others followed the Armed Croud, that they might the better, being amongſt them, defend their own and their Friends Houſes. Thus their power grew ſtronger, and that of the Lords decreaſed. This Tumult laſted all day, and night coming on, they ſtopt at the Palace of Meſſer *Stephano*, behind Saint *Barnaby*'s Church. Their Number was above ſix thouſand, and before dawn of Day, they with Threats made the Trades ſend in their Enſigns. Morning being come, with the Standard of Juſtice, and the Enſigns of the Trades, they came before the *Podeſtà*, or *Mayors* Palace, and the *Podeſtà* refuſing to give them poſſeſſion, they fought and overcome him. The *Lords* willing to come to any Compoſition with them, ſince they could not tell how to quell them by Force, ſent for four of their Colledge, and im-

The Rebels grow ſtronger, and the Lords weaker.

ployed them to the *Mayors* Palace to underſtand their minds; who found, that the Heads of the *Plebeians*, with the *Syndics* of the Arts, and ſome Citizens, had already determined what they would demand of the Senate: whereupon, Accompanied with four deputed by the Rabble, and theſe following Demands they returned to the Senate: *That* the Company of *Wool-Merchants* might not hereafter have a Forraign Judge. *That* three new Corporations of Trades ſhould be erected; one for the *Carders* and *Dyers*, the other for the *Barbers*, *Hoſiers*, *Taylors*, and other ſuch kind of Merchants, and the third, for the poor *Labouring People*; and that for theſe three new Corporations, there ſhould alwaies be choſen two *Lords*, and for the fourteen leſſer Corporations Three. *That* the Senate ſhould provide Halls for theſe New Corporations to meet in. *That* none entred under theſe Bodies Corporate, ſhould be forced to pay any Debt under two *Ducats* for this two years. *That* the Bank ſhould remit their Intereſt, and only the Principal be paid. *That* thoſe who were Confined and Condemned, ſhould be pardoned. *That* all the Admoniſhed ſhould be reſtored to their Dignities: With many other Advantages which they asked for their Favourers or Favorites; and on the contrary, many of their Enemies to be Confined and Admoniſhed. Which Demands, though they were ſhameful and diſhonourable to the Common-

The high Demands of the Multitude.

wealth,

wealth, yet for fear of worſe were accepted by the Senate, Colledges, and Council of the People; but to give them perfection, it was requiſite they ſhould be conſented to by the Common Council, which (becauſe in one day they could not aſſemble two Councils) they agreed to refer to the next; and the Artizans appeared content, and the Vulgar ſatisfied, promiſing, if they gave perfection to that Law, all Tumults ſhould ceaſe. The next Morning, whilſt the Common Council was debating the Matter, the Multitude, voluble and impatient, marched under their former Colours into the *Piazza* with loud ſhouts, and horrible Out-cries, affrighting both the Council and the Lords: Upon which *Guerriante Marigicula*, moved more out of Fear than any other private Paſſion, went down, under pretence of guarding the lower Gate, and fled to his Houſe; but he could not paſs out ſo privately, but he was taken notice of by the Rabble and known: yet they did him no injury; only the Multitude at ſight of him Cryed out with one voice, That the Lords ſhould all leave the Palace, or elſe they would kill their Children, and burn their Houſes. Mean while the Law was determined, and the Lords were returned into their Chamber, and the Council gone down, but neither daring to go out of the Lodge, nor paſs the Court, deſpairing of the ſafety of the City, they made a ſtand; ſuch Villany was there in the Multitude, and ſo much wretch-

wretchedneſs or fear in thoſe, who might have either bridled or ſuppreſſed them. The Lords were likewiſe, in Confuſion, doubtful of the preſervation of their Country, ſeeing themſelves forſaken by their own Guards, and not by any one Citizen, either with their Aid or Council ſupported. Whilſt they thus ſtood uncertain, either what they might, or what they ought to do, *Thomas Strozzi*, and *Bennet Alberti*, moved to it by their private Ambition, deſirous to be Maſters of the Palace, or becauſe indeed they believed it the beſt way, perſwaded them to yield to this popular Violence, and return as private men to their Houſes. This Counſel given by them who had been Heads of the Tumult, made *Alamanno Acciaiuoli*, and *Nicholas de Bene*, two of the Lords (though the reſt yielded) exclaim againſt them, and taking a little heart, told them, That if the reſt would go, they could not help it; but they would not lay down their Authority till their time was expired, unleſs with it they laid down their Lives. Their Diſſenting increaſed the Lords Fear, and the Peoples Rage, ſo that the *Gonfaloniere*, chooſing rather to quit his Magiſtracy with ſhame, than hold it with danger, recommended it to *Thomas Strozzi*, who conducting him out of the Palace, conveyed him to his own Houſe. The other Lords in like manner, one after another departed: Whereupon *Alman* and *Nicholas*, that they might not be judged more Couragious than Wiſe,

The *Lords* driven out of the Palace.

ſeeing

ſeeing themſelves left alone vvent away alſo; and the Palace remained in the hands of the *Plebeians*, and of the Eight Commiſſioners of War, vvho had not yet laid down their Office. There vvas one *Michael de Lando* a Comber of Wool, vvho, vvhen the Croud entred the Palace, had the Standard of *Juſtice* in his hand. This Fellow bare-foot, and ſcarce a Rag to cover him, leaps up the Stairs, with all the Rabble following him, and getting upon the place vvhere *Lords* uſed to give Audience, he makes a ſtand, and turning to the Multitude: *You ſee*, ſays he, *that this Palace is yours, and this City in your hands; what is now your opinion how they ſhall be diſpoſed?* To vvhich, they all made Anſwer, That they vvould have him to be *Gonfaloniere*, and Lord, and that he ſhould govern them, and the City, as he thought fit: He was an underſtanding vvitty Fellow, and more beholding to Nature than Fortune; and therefore accepting the Authority, he determines preſently, to quiet the City, and put a ſtop to the Tumults, and to keep the People employed, and gain time to put himſelf in order; he commands Search to be made for one *Ser Nuto*, whom Meſſer *Lapo de Caſtiglionchio* had deſigned for *Bargello*, or Head Sergeant: Upon which Commiſſion, moſt that vvere about him ran. And, to begin that Government with Juſtice, he had got by Favour, he made Proclamation that none ſhould dare to burn or ſteal any thing; and, for a Terrour, cauſed

Michael de Lando a Comber of Wool, made *Gonfaloniere*, and Lord, by the Rabble.

cauſed a Gibbet to be erected in the *Piazza*. And to give a beginning to the Reformation of the City, he annulled the *Syndics* of the Trades, and made New; deprived the *Lords* and *Colledges* of the Magiſtracy, and burnt the Purſes of Offices. Mean vvhile, *Nuto* vvas by the Multitude brought into the *Piazza*, and hanged by one foot on the Gibbet; and every one ſlaſhing a piece from him, there was in an inſtant nothing left but his Foot. The Council of *Eight*, during this, (believing themſelves, ſince the *Lords* were departed, Chief Magiſtrates of the City) had already deſigned New *Lords*, vvhich *Michael* underſtanding, ſent to tell them, that they ſhould preſently depart the Palace; for he would let every one know, how, without their Counſel, he knew how to govern *Florence*. He after Aſſembled the *Syndics* of the Trades, and created a *Signory* of Four for the Labouring people, two for the Greater, and two for the Leſſer Trades. Beſides this, he made a new *Squittini*, or Imborſation for Choice of Magiſtrates, and divided the State into Three parts; one whereof related to the New Arts, the other to the Leſſer, and the third to the Greater. He gave Meſſer *Silveſter Medici* the Rent of the Shops upon the Old-Bridge, and to himſelf the *Podeſtaria*, or Bailywick of *Empoli*; and to many other Citizens, and many of the Common People he gave beneficial Gifts; not ſo much to reſtore them part of what they had given him, but that they

might

might be at all times ready to defend him from Envy. Yet the People began to think, that *Michael* in Reforming the State, too much ſided with the Wealthy Party, and that they had not ſo great a ſhare in the Government as was fitting, or rather, neceſſary for them, to maintain and defend themſelves in it: Whereupon, ſpurr'd on by their habitual Boldneſs, they again took Arms, and in a Tumultuous manner gathering to their Colours, come into the *Piazza*, and Require the *Lords* to come down to the *Ringhiera* (or place of Audience) to Debate of New Matters. *Michael*, ſeeing their Arrogance, not to Enrage them more, without otherwiſe hearing what they would have, blamed their manner of coming to ask any thing: Exhorted them to lay down Arms, and then ſhould eaſily be granted them, what the Signory could not Honourably by Force concede. At vvhich, the Multitude enraged againſt the Palace, went to St. *Maria Novella*, where they Conſtituted among themſelves Eight Chiefs, with Miniſters, and other Orders, which paid them Reverence and Reſpect: So that there was now two Sects in the City; and it was under two different Governments. The Chiefs of the *Plebeians* determined among themſelves, that alwaies *Eight* choſen from the Companies of Trades, ſhould dwell vvith the *Lords* in the Palace, and that, vvhatever vvas debated by the Signory, ſhould be by them confirmed. They took away from

The People diſcontented with *Michael Lando*, take Arms.

Silveſter

Silveſter Medici, and *Michael Lando*; all that in their former Conceſſions they had beſtowed on them, they aſſigned over to many of their own Offices, and other ſupplyes, that they might the better maintain their port and dignity; having concluded theſe things, they ſent them to the Lords, requiring they might be confirmed by the Councils, with an aſſurance they would have them done by Force, if by fare means they could not obtain them. Thoſe who brought them performed their Commiſſion to the Lords with great boldneſs, and greater Preſumption, reproaching the *Gonfaloniere* with the Dignity they had conferred on him, and how ungrateful he had been in managing thoſe Honours they had beſtowed on him, with ſo little reſpect towards them. And from theſe injurious words, proceeding to threats, *Michael* could no longer endure ſuch Arrogance; but remembring more the Degree he then held, then his low and mean Condition, reſolved to puniſh in an extraordinary manner ſuch extraordinary Inſolence, and drawing his Sword, He had by his ſide, he firſt grievouſly wounded him that ſpoke, and then cauſed them all to be bound and impriſoned. Theſe things were no ſooner known, but the multitude were enflamed with anger; and believing they might force that to be done with Arms in their hands, which Diſarmed they could not obtain, with Tumult, rage, and fury they Armed themſelves, and made ready to aſſail the Lords.

Michael wounds and impriſons the peoples Meſſengers.

On

On the other ſide, *Michael* foreſeeing what would happen, determined to prevent it, and judging it more for his Honour to aſſault others, then ſtay for his Enemy within the Palace Walls, and be forced like his Predeceſſors, with diſhonour to the place, and ſhame to himſelf to fly, He gathers together a great number of Citizens, who were already come flocking thither, ſenſible now of their former errours, and mounting on Horſe-back, followed by many men at armes, goes to St. *Maria Novella* to fight his Enemy. The Rabble who (as we ſaid before) had made the ſame reſolves at the ſame time that *Michael* parted from the Palace, were advancing towards it, and it happened ſo, that taking ſeveral waies they met not one the other: whereupon *Michael* turning back, found the *Piazza* poſſeſſed, and that they were endeavouring to take the Palace; and engaging with them, after a hot skirmiſh he routs them, drives ſome of them out of the City, and the reſt forces to throw down their Arms, and run and hide themſelves. This Victory obtained, the Tumults were appeaſed by the ſole valour of the *Gonfaloniere*, who for Courage, Prudence and Honeſty, exceeded all the Citizens of his time, and deſerves to be Chronicled among thoſe few that were ſerviceable and Beneficial to their Country: For had he had either a diſhoneſt or Ambitious mind, the Common-wealth had utterly loſt it's Liberty, and fallen under a much worſe Tyranny, than that of the Duke

And routs the rabble.

Michael Landes's commendations.

Duke of *Athens*. But his goodneſs would not permit a thought in his Breſt contradictory to the publick good, and by his prudence he governed things ſo, that moſt of his Party had confidence in him, and the reſt he by force could quell: which put the *Plebeians* in fear, and made the better ſort of Tradeſmen bethink themſelves, and conſider how great their Ignorance had been, that they who had tamed the Pride of the Nobles, were become ſupporters of the ſcum of the people. When *Michael* gained this victory over the Rabble, the new Lords were already drawn; whereof two were of ſuch vile and abject quality, that it begot a deſire in all men to free themſelves from this Infamy. And on the firſt day of *September*, when the new Lords were to enter upon the *Magiſtracy*, the place being full of Armed men, as ſoon as the *Old Lords* were come out of the Palace, a Cry was raiſed among the Armed men, in a tumultuous manner, that they would not have any of the *Plebeians* Lords. Whereupon the Signory, to ſatisfy them, deprived thoſe two of the Magiſtracy; of which, one was called *Tyra*, and the other *Baroccio*, in whoſe places, *Meſſer George Schali*, and *Francis Michael* were choſen: They annulled likewiſe the Corporations of the meaner ſort of people, and from thoſe under them (except *Michael di Lando*, and *Lewis Pucchio*, and ſome others of better Quality) took all manner of Offices. The Honours they divided into two parts; Whereof, one to the

Greater,

Greater, and the other to the Leſſer Trades, was conſigned: Only of the Lords, they would always have five of the meaner Artificers, and four of the greater Trades; and the *Gonfaloniere*, ſometimes of one and ſometimes of another. The Government thus ſetled, put the City in a preſent poſture of Quiet. And though the Government was taken out of the hands of the Rabble, yet did the Mechanicks of meaner Quality remain Superior in power to the Citizens of higher degree; to which, theſe were conſtrained to ſubmit to take away from the looſe Multitude the favour of the Handicrafts, by ſo contenting them; which was likewiſe favoured by thoſe who deſired, that they ſhould be afflicted, who under the Name of the *Guelph* Faction had ſo much tormented the City: And, becauſe among the Favourers of this ſort of Government, Meſſer *George Scali*, Meſſer *Bennet Alberti*, Meſſer *Silveſter Medici*, and Meſſer *Thomas Strozzi*, were the Chief; they ſeemed, in a manner, as Princes of the City. Theſe things thus managed and Governed, the Diviſion between the Prime Citizens, and Merchants of meaner Trades (begun by the Ambition of the *Ricci* and *Albizi*) was confirmed, which produced, in ſeveral times afterwards, ſad effects; of which, becauſe we ſhall have occaſion hereafter often to make mention, we will call one the *Popular* Faction, and the other the *Plebeian* (as, for the moſt part, hitherto, we have obſerved

The Popular and Plebeian Factions.

to do.) This Government laſted three years, and was much perplexed with Deaths and Baniſhment; for thoſe that Governed, becauſe of the many Male-contents within and without, lived in very great Jealouſie. The Male-contents within, were ſtill attempting, or at leaſt, the Government believed they were attempting, ſome Novelty. Thoſe without, having nothing to reſtrain them, ſometimes by means of that Prince, and ſometimes of this Commonwealth, diſperſed and ſowed Sedition, ſometimes in one Party, and ſometimes in another. There was at this time in *Bolonia*, *Gianazzo* of *Salerno*, Commander of the Forces under *Charles* of *Durazzo* of the Blood Royal of *Naples*; who deſigning an expedition againſt Queen *Joane*, this his General, was by the favour of Pope *Urban*, (an Enemy to the Queen) admitted into that City. There were then at *Bolonia* many that had fled out of *Florence*, who kept a ſtrict Correſpondence both with him and *Charles*: Upon which account, thoſe who Governed *Florence* lived in the greater Jealouſie, and with eaſe believed any Calumnies, raiſed of the Citizens they ſuſpected. Whilſt the minds of men were in this Fear, and Suſpenſion, was diſcovered to the Magiſtracy, how *Gianazzo de Salerno* was deſigned to preſent himſelf before *Florence*, with thoſe that were fled out, and that many within were to take Arms in their behalf, and ſurrender to them the City. Upon this

A Conſpiracy revealed.

this Accusation, many were accused; for the principal of which were nominated *Peter Albizi*, and *Charles Strozzi*, and next them *Capriani Maugion*, Messer *Jacopo Sacchetti*, Messer *Donato Barbadori*, *Philip Strozzi*, and *John Anselmi*: All which (except *Charles Strozzi* that fled) were taken; and the *Lords*, to the end none should take Arms, in their Favour deputed Messer *Thomas Strozzi*, and Messer *Bennet Alberti*, with a sufficient number of Souldiers, to have the Guard of the City. These Citizens thus taken, though upon any Testimony or Circumstances, they could not be found Guilty, insomuch that the Captain would by no means Condemn them: Yet their Enemies in such manner stirred up the People, and moved them to so much Rage and Madness against them, that they forced Sentence of Death to be passed upon them. Nor did the greatness of his Family any thing avail *Peter Albizi*; Nor that Antient reputation of his, which had once made him feared and Honoured, above any other Citizens of *Florence*; And had once perswaded a certain Citizen, whose Guest he was at a great Invitation, either, As his Friend, to oblige him to a more kind, humble deportment in such a height of Greatness; or, As his Enemy, to threaten him with the volubility of Fortune, to send him a silver Cup-full of *Confects*, under which, he had hid a great Iron Spike; which, being discovered, and seen by the rest of the Guests, was in-

Several Nobles and prime Citizens Accused.

Condemned and Executed.

terpreted as an Admonition to him, to ſtop and fix the Wheel; for Fortune having brought him to the very top of it, it was impoſſible, if it continued its Circle and Career, but he muſt fall to the very bottom: which Interpretation, firſt by his Ruine, and afterwards by his Death, was fully verified. After this Execution, the City remained full of Confuſion, for both the Conquerours and Conquered ſtood in doubt: but, the moſt malignant Effects were produced from the Fears of thoſe that Governed; for every ſlight Accident made them afflict with new Injuries the ſuſpected Party, either Condemning, or Admoniſhing, or ſending their Citizens into Baniſhment; to which may be added, the making New Laws for ſupport and ſtrengthning of their Government: All which things were proſecuted with Injuſtice and Injury to thoſe, their Faction had any Jealouſie of; to which end, they created a Council of XLVI, who, together with the *Lords*, were to purge the State of ſuſpected Perſons. Theſe Admoniſhed XXXIX Citizens, and many People they made Noble, and many Nobles they degraded. And, to enable them to withſtand any Forraign Power, they took into their pay Sir *John Hawkwood* an *Engliſh* man, of great Reputation in Arms, and, who had formerly made War in *Italy*, under the Pope, and other Princes. The Reaſon of their Fears from abroad, aroſe from the Intelligence they had, that ſeveral Com-

Sir John Hawkwood hired by the Florentines.

Companies of Men at Arms, drawn together by *Charles* of *Durazzo*, in order to his Expedition againſt *Naples*, were in a readineſs, and that great numbers of Baniſhed *Florentines* were joyned vvith them; To oppoſe vvhich Dangers, beſides the Forces they had levied, they provided themſelves with mony: And *Charles*, at his coming to *Azezzo*, received from the *Florentines* 40000 *Ducats*, upon promiſe not to moleſt them. After which, he purſued his Expedition, and happily poſſeſſed himſelf of the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſending Queen *Joan* priſoner into *Hungary*. Which ſucceſs of his, bred new Jealouſies in thoſe vvho managed the State of *Florence*; for they could not believe, their Mony could have ſuch power over the King, as to ſtifle that Ancient Friendſhip his Family had alwaies born to the *Guelph* Party, whom they had vvith ſo many Injuries oppreſſed. And this Jealouſie increaſing, Injuries increaſed with it, which did not extinguiſh but enflame it, ſo that moſt part of the City lived under great anxiety and Tribulation: To which, the Inſolencies of *George Scali*, and *Thomas Strozzi* contributed, vvho vvith their Authority over-awed the Magiſtracy, every one ſtanding in fear, leaſt by the *Plebeians* favour they might be by them oppreſſed; for their Government, not only to Good men, but even to the Seditious, appeared violent and Tyrannical. But that the Inſolency of *George* might one day come to

an end, It happened that *John de Cambio* accuſed a Fellow Citizen, of having held Intelligence againſt the State; but the Party being found Innocent by the Captain, the Judge would have inflicted the ſame puniſhment upon the Accuſer, which the Accuſed had been liable to, had he been found Guilty; and when Meſſer *George* could neither by his power nor prayers prevail for his pardon, he, vvith Meſſer *Thomas Strozzi*, vvent vvith a great multitude of Armed Men, and by force delivered him, ſacking the Palace of the Captain, and conſtraining him (to ſave his life) to fly and hide himſelf. Which Action begot ſuch a Hatred in the vvhole City againſt him, that his Enemies thought they might eaſily cruſh him, and not only deliver the City out of his hands, but out of the hands of the *Plebeians*, who, for three years paſt, had ſubjected it to their Arrogance. To which, the Captain gave a fair opportunity, who going to the *Lords*, as ſoon as the Tumult was over, told them: *That he had willingly undertaken that Office, to which their Lordſhips had Elected him, becauſe he thought he was to ſerve Juſt men, who would take up Arms in Defence, and not in Oppoſition of Juſtice: but now, having had experience of the Government of the City, and its manner of living: That Dignity he had readily embraced, out of hopes to gain Honour, Safety, and Advantage, he as readily laid down, to avoid Shame, Danger, and Damage.* The Captain vvas encou-

encouraged by the *Lords* to continue in his Charge, who heartned him with Promiſes of Recompence for paſt Loſſes, and Security for the future; and withdrawing a part of them, they privately conſulted with ſome others of the Citizens, whom they knew lovers of their Country, and vvho lay not under the leaſt Suſpicions of State; with whom they Concluded, That a good Opportunity was offered to free the City out of the hands of Meſſer *George*, and the *Plebeians*; the Generality being by this laſt Inſolence utterly alienated from him. Wherefore they thought it beſt to make uſe of it, before the Angry minds of the People were ſetled; for they knew the Favour of the Multitude was won and loſt by every little Accident: Judging it withal neceſſary, for the Management of the Affair, to draw Meſſer *Benedetto Alberti* to their Party, without whoſe conſent they thought the Enterprize too Hazardous. Meſſer *Bennet* was very Rich, Juſt, Kind, and a lover of the Liberty of his Country, and a Diſaffector of all Tyrannical waies: So, that it was no difficult matter to gain him to condeſcend to the ruine of Meſſer *George*, becauſe the Reaſons which had made him an Enemy to the Prime of the People, and to the Faction of the *Guelphs*, were only their Inſolencies and Tyrannical Demeanour. And now, finding the Chiefs of the *Plebeians* were grown like them, he had for ſometime diſcontinued Acting vvith

them, and the Injuries vvhich had been done to many Citizens, were utterly without his Conſent and Advice. Meſſer *Bennet*, and the Maſters of the Trades, thus drawn to their Party, they provided themſelves of Arms, and Meſſer *George* vvas taken, but Meſſer *Thomas* fled: And the next day *George* vvas Beheaded, vvith ſo much Terrour to his Party, that not a man durſt ſtir to reſcue him; rather every one run to gaze at his fall: Whereupon, he ſeeing himſelf brought to Die before that People, vvho but a vvhile before adored him, he complained of his ill Fortune, and accuſed the Frowardneſs of the Citizens, vvhich had forced him to comply with, and honour a Multitude, who never vvere capable of Gratitude. And ſeeing Meſſer *Bennet Alberti* among the Armed men, he ſaid to him: *And can you, Mr.* Bennet, *conſent that this Injury be done to me, which I would never have permitted to be done to you? But I pronounce this end of my Miſery, to be the beginning of yours.* And vvith theſe Repinings he dyed, in the midſt of his Armed Enemies, who rejoyced at his fall. Some of his neereſt Friends were ſoon after put to Death, and ſome torn in pieces by the People. The fall of this Citizen diſquieted the whole City; for many at his Execution had taken up Arms in favour of the Signory and Captain of the People; and many others out of Ambition, or private Jealouſie. And, becauſe the City vvas full of differing

Meſſer George Scali Beheaded.

Diviſions in the City, taking occaſion from his Execution.

differing Factions, they all had different ends, and each desired before they laid down Arms, to accomplish them. The Ancient Nobility, called *Grandees*, (and so we shall hereafter call them in distinction from the New Nobles of the people) could not support or endure their being deprived of all Honours, and therefore by all possible vvaies applyed themselves to the recovery of them. They therefore Armed themselves, to restore the Authority to the Captains of the Wards or Divisions: the Nobles of the People, and the Prime Trades were dissatisfied to share the Government vvith the meaner Tradesmen, and Rabble of *Plebeians*. On the other side, The Inferiour Trades, sought rather to add to, than suffer their power to diminish, and the Rabble feared to lose their new Corporations: from which Differences there arose many Tumults in *Florence* in a years space; sometimes the Grandees took Arms, sometimes the Popular Nobles, sometimes the Inferiour Trades, and vvith them the loose Multitude; and many times, in divers parts of the Town, all of them were in Arms at once: vvhereupon happened several Skirmishes between them and the Guards of the Palace; for the Senate sometimes yielding, and sometimes fighting, strove all the vvaies they could to remedy so many Inconveniencies: Insomuch, that after two Parliaments and more * *Balia*'s created to Reform the City. After many Losses, Labours,

* A select Magistracy with full Authority.

bours, and grievous Dangers, they eſtabliſhed a Government, by which, all thoſe which had been confined, ſince *Silveſter Medici* was *Gonfaloniere*, were reſtored; they took away all Priviledges and preheminencies which had been granted by the *Balia* in 1377. Reſtored the *Guelph* faction to all Dignities, and honours; Took away from the New trades their Corporations, and government; diſtributing them among the Companies they were formerly placed under: They removed from the Inferiour Trades the choice of the *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice, and from one half reduced them to a third Share of Dignities, and thoſe of the higheſt quality they made them altogether incapable of. Whereby, the Faction of the popular Nobles of the *Guelphs* reaſſumed the Authority; and the *Plebeians*, who had been the chief Managers of the ſtate, from the year 1378, to the year 1381, when this Novelty happened, loſt it. Nor was this Government leſs impious to the Citizens, nor leſs hurtful in its foundations than that of the *Plebeians* had been. For many popular Nobles who had ſtirred in the defence of that, and many of the heads of the *Plebeians* were confined; among whom was *Michael di Lando*, who, all the benefit his Authority had been Author of, when the unbridled Multitude licentiouſly ruined the City, could not preſerve him from the rage of this Faction, ſo ungrateful was his Country to him for all his good Offices: Into which Errour, becauſe

1381

Princes

Princes and Commonwealths many times fall, it occaſions that men terrifyed with ſuch kind of Examples, no ſooner begin to grow ſenſible of their princes ingratitude, but they ſtudy how to offend them. Theſe Baniſhments and Executions, as they always diſpleaſed, ſo now they afflicted the Spirit of *Meſſer Bennet Alberti*, who publickly, and privately, condemned them: Whereupon the Prime men concerned in the Government, feared him; for they eſteemed him one of the Principal Friends of the *Plebeians*, and believed, he had conſented to the death of Meſſer *George Scali*, not out of any diſlike to his manners, but that he might remain without Competitor in the Government; both his words and Works added afterwards fuel to this Jealouſie; So that all the Faction in power turned their eyes towards him, to watch an opportunity of oppreſſing him: Whilſt they ſtood upon theſe Terms within, Affaires abroad were not very difficult; by that which follows the people were more ſcared than hurt; for about this time *Lewis* of *Anjou* came into *Italy* to reſtore the King- dom of *Naples* to Queen *Joan*, and drive out *Charles of Durazzo*: His paſſing by put the *Florentines* in great fear, for *Charles*, as is uſual among old friends, deſired their Aſſiſtance; and *Lewis* deſired, (as it is Cuſtomary with thoſe who ſeek New Alliances,) they would ſtand Neuter. Whereupon, the *Florentines*, to make a ſhew of ſatisfying *Lewis*, and helping *Charles*, diſ-

Lewis of *Anjou* paſſing to *Naples* frights the *Florentines*.

diſmiſſed Sr. *John Hawkwood* from their Service, and ſent him to *Pope Urban*, who was *Charles* his friend: which Cheat was eaſily diſcovered by *Lewis*, who highly reſented this injury of the *Florentines*. And whilſt the War between *Lewis* and *Charles* was maintained in *Apulia*, there came freſh ſuccours to *Lewis* out of *France*, who arriving in *Toſcany*, were by the Baniſhed *Aretines* brought into *Arezzo*; which ſided with thoſe who governed for *Charles*. But as they were deſigning to Change the Government of *Florence*, as they had done that of *Arezzo*, happened the death of *Lewis*; and Affaires in *Apulia* and *Toſcany* changed conutenance; for *Charles* ſecured himſelf of the Kingdom, he had almoſt loſt, and the *Florentines*, who were almoſt doubtful of being able to defend *Florence*, got *Arezzo* buying it of thoſe people which held it for *Lewis*. *Charles* having thus ſetled *Apulia* goes for *Hungary*, fallen to him by Hereditary Succeſſion, leaving his wife in *Apulia*, with *Ladiſlaus* and *Joan*, his Children; of whom, more in due Seaſon. *Charles* gained *Hungary*, but was ſoon after Slain; there were ſolemn Feaſts kept in *Florence* for this Succeſs, ſo that never City rejoyced more at their own Victoryes: Here as well the private as publick Magnificence appeared; for many Families in their Feaſting; ſtrove to vye with the publick: But they which in pomp and Magnificence exceeded all others, were the family of the *Alberti*; For the Feaſts and Tourn-

They get *Arezzo*.

ments

ments made by them, ſeem'd rather becoming a mighty Prince, than a private Family: which joyning Envy to the Jealouſy the ſtate before had of *Meſſer Bennet*, was the cauſe of his ruin: For thoſe who were in power could not be ſatisfyed with him, imagining every minute ſome opportunity might happen, to make him with the favour of the factions, regain his Reputation, and drive them out of the City. And whilſt they were in theſe doubts, it happened, that he being *Gonfaloniere* of the Companyes, there was drawn for *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice, Meſſer *Philip Magolotti* his ſon in law, which redoubled the fear of the Heads of the ſtate, judging it added too much Power to Meſſer *Bennet*, and expoſed the State to too much danger. And deſirous to remedy it without Tumult; they encouraged *Beſe Magolotti*, his Conſort and Enemy, to ſignify to the Lords, that Meſſer *Philip* not being yet arrived at the Age required, to exerciſe that degree, could not obtain it. The matter was examined before the Lords, and part out of Hatred, and the reſt not to give Offence, voted Meſſer *Philip* incapable of that Dignity; and in his ſtead was choſen *Bardo Mancini*, a man quite averſe to the *Plebeian* Faction, and an utter Enemy to Meſſer *Benedetto*: Inſomuch, that as ſoon as he was ſetled in his Magiſtracy he called a *Balia*, who, in ſupervising and reforming the ſtate, Baniſhed Meſſer *Benedetto Alberti*, and Admoniſhed all the reſt of the family, except Meſſer *Anthony*.

Meſſer *Benet Alberti* baniſhed.

ny. Meſſer *Bennet*, before his departure, called together all his Conſorts and Friends, and ſeeing them ſad and full of tears told them: *You ſee* (my good *Lords*, and *Fathers*) *how Fortune has oppreſſed me, and threatens you; neither am I ſtartled at it, nor ought you to wonder; for it ever happens thus to men, who, among a great many Wicked, ſtrive to be Good, or would ſupport what many ſeek to deſtroy. Love of my Country made me joyn with* Sylveſter Medici; *and fall off from* George Scali; *and the very ſame thing made me hate the Cuſtomes of thoſe that now Rule, who, being above chaſtiſement, have ſcorned Reproof. And I am content with my Baniſhment, to free them from the fear they had not of me only, but of all that they know are ſenſible of their Wicked and Tyrannical Government. I am not moleſted nor vexed at it; for thoſe Honours my Country, when free gave me, the ſervant cannot take away; and I ſhall always find more Delight in the memory of my paſt life, then the infelicity of my Exile can bring of diſpleaſure. It grieves me indeed, that my Country ſhould become a prey to a few, and be forced to ſubmit to their Tyranny, and Avarice: And I am grieved for you, becauſe I fear that thoſe Evils which this day end in me, will begin in you, and that they will perſecute you with greater Tyranny then they have perſecuted me. Reſolve with your ſelves therefore, to bear a mind ſtedfaſt againſt all Misfortunes, and carry your ſelves ſo, that if any adverſity befall you (as much certainly will) the World*

His ſpeech to his conſorts before his departure.

may

may know you Innocent, and that by any fault of yours, you have not deſerved it. After this leave taken, to gain as much Reputation of Goodneſs abroad as he had done at home, he went to viſit the *Holy Sepulchre*, and in his return thence dyed at *Rhodes*. He dies at *Rhodes*.

During theſe Diſtempers, the Family of the *Alberti* was not alone affronted and injured, but many other Citizens vvere Admoniſhed, and Baniſhed; among vvhom vvere *Peter Benini*, *Matthew Alderotti*, *John* and *Francis de Bene*, *John Benci*, *Andrew Adimari*, and with theſe a great number of Mechanicks. Thoſe that were Admoniſhed vvere the *Cononi*, *Benini*, *Rimicoi*, *Formiconi*, *Corbizi*, *Manelli*, and *Alderotti*. It vvas Cuſtomary to create the *Balia* for an affixed time; but thoſe Citizens having done what they vvere deputed for, thought it decent, though the time vvere not expired, to Reſign. Theſe men therefore, having, as they thought, ſatisfied the State, would, according to Cuſtome, have reſigned: vvhich, the Multitude underſtanding, ran Armed to the Palace, deſiring, that before they reſigned, many others might be Baniſhed, and Admoniſhed; which highly diſpleaſed the *Lords*, vvho entertained them with fair Promiſes, till they had gathered ſtrength ſufficient, and then made them, for Fear, lay down thoſe Arms, which fury had made them take up: yet, to ſatisfie a little this raging Humour, and to moderate the Power of the *Plebeians*, they enacted, That whereas they

they had a third part of the Honours, they ſhould only have a Fourth: And that there might alwaies be in the *Signory* Two men ſtedfaſt to the State, they gave Authority to the *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice, and to Four other Citizens to make Purſes of Choſen, pickt men, whereof two to be drawn for every *Signory*. The Government thus ſetled, ſix years after it was firſt Ordained, vvhich vvas in the year 1381, the City lived in great quietneſs within it ſelf, till the year 1393; during which time, *John Galeazo Viſconti*, called the Count of *Virtue*, having ſlain Meſſer *Barnaby* his Uncle, and by that means become Prince of all *Lombardy*, thought he might by Force become King of all *Italy*, as he had, by *Treachery*, made himſelf Duke of *Milan*. And in the year 1390, waged a brisk war with the *Florentines*, which in the Management was ſo variable, that oftentimes was the Duke himſelf in Danger, and oftentimes upon the point of deſtroying the *Florentines*; who had certainly, had he lived, been loſt; though they made a ſtout defence, and to be admired at for a Common-wealth. And the end proved as advantagious as the War had been Dreadful: For when the Duke had taken *Bolonia*, *Piſa*, *Perugia*, and *Siena*, and had made ready a Crown to Crown himſelf King of *Italy*, in *Florence*, he Dyed: Death not ſuffering him to enjoy his paſt Victoryes; nor the *Florentines* to feel their preſent loſſes. Whilſt this War was

War with *Milan*.

on

on foot with the Duke, Meſſer *Maſo Albizi*, whom the Death of *Peter* had made an Enemy to the Houſe of *Alberti*, was drawn for *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice: And the humours of the Factions being ſtill kept awake, *Maſo* (though *Bennet* was dead in Exile) determined, before he laid down the Magiſtracy, to revenge himſelf on the reſt of that Family; and took the opportunity from one, who, being examined about Intelligence held with the Enemy, named *Albert*, and *Andrew Alberti*. Theſe were preſently taken, at which all the City grew Angry; whereupon the Senate Arming, called a Parliament of the People, and Conſtituted a *Balia*, whereby many Citizens were Baniſhed, and new Imborſation for Choice of Officers made. Amongſt the Baniſhed were almoſt all the *Alberti*: there were likewiſe many of the Mechanicks admoniſhed, and put to Death; whereupon, incenſed by ſo many Injuries, the Multitude took Arms, that they might no longer behold their Honours and Lives thus taken away. Part of them came into the *Piazza*, and another part flockt to the Houſe of Meſſer *Veri de Medici*, who, after the death of *Silveſter*, remained Head of that Family: to thoſe which came into the *Piazza*, the *Lords*, to lull them aſleep, gave them for their Heads [with the Enſigns of the *Guelphs*, and the People in their hands] Meſſer *Rinaldo Gianfigliazzo*, and Meſſer *Donato Acciaivoli*, men above any other of the populaſt Party,

The Rabble flie to Arms.

grateful to the *Plebeians*. Thoſe who went to the Houſe of *Veri de Medici*, beg'd, He would be pleaſed to accept the Government, and free them from the Tyranny of thoſe Citizens, who were Deſtroyers of all Good men, and perverters of the Common-weal. All that have made any Record of theſe Times agree, that had Meſſer *Veri* been as Ambitious as he was Good, he might in this Conjuncture, without any hindrance, have made himſelf Prince of the City: For the heavy loads, that were right or wrong, laid upon the Inferiour Mechanicks, and their Friends, had ſo enflamed their Souls to Revenge, that they wanted nothing to ſatisfie their deſires, but a Head to Lead them: Nor wanted there ſome to put Meſſer *Veri* in mind what he might do; for *Antonio de Medici*, who had long before had ſome particular Animoſities againſt him, adviſed him to accept of the Dominion of the City, to which Meſſer *Veri*, made Anſwer, *As thy Threatnings, when my Enemy, made me not afraid; neither ſhall thy Counſels, as my Friend, abuſe me.* And turning towards the Multitude, he exhorted them to be of good-heart, for he would be their Defender, if they would be adviſed by him: And going in the midſt of them into the *Piazza*, and from thence, up the Palace to the *Lords*, he ſpoke to them in this manner: *That he had no reaſon to be troubled, that he had lived in ſuch a manner that the People of* Florence *loved him; but it*

it grieved him, that they had an opinion of him which his paſt life had not deſerved: for, having never made appear any ſymptoms of being Factious or Ambitious, he knew not from whence it proceeded, that they ſhould imagine him a fomenter of Sedition, like an Unquiet man, or an Uſurper of Government, as one Ambitious. He therefore prayed their Lordſhips, *That the Ignorance of the Multitude ſhould not be imputed as a Crime to him, for that he had, as far as poſſible he could, brought them under their Power:* Remembring them withal, *That they ſhould uſe their Fortune moderately, and rather chooſe a ſmall Victory with the ſafety of the City, than an intire one with its Ruine.* Meſſer *Veri* was prayed by the *Lords*, and exhorted to make them lay down their Arms, and that afterwards they would not fail to do what He and other Citizens ſhould adviſe them: Upon which, returning to the *Piazza*, and his *Brigade* being joyned with thoſe led by Meſſer *Rinaldo*, and Meſſer *Donato*, he told them all: *That he had found in the* Lords *an excellent diſpoſition to do them good; that many things had been ſpoken of to that purpoſe, but by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of the time; and the abſence of the Magiſtrates could not yet be concluded. In the mean time he prayed them to lay down their Arms, and Obey the Lords: giving them his word, that Gentleneſs rather than Pride, and Prayers rather than Threats would move them, and that they ſhould not want either Honour or Safety, if*

they would be rul'd by him. Inſomuch, that upon his word they all returned to their Houſes. Arms thus by them laid down, the *Signory* firſt Armed the *Piazza*, and then liſted Two thouſand Citizens faithful to the State, and divided them equally under Banners; giving Command, that they ſhould be in a readineſs, whenever they were called to their Aſſiſtance, and forbidding all that were not Lifted to Arm themſelves. Theſe Preparations made, they Confined, Baniſhed, and put to Death many of the Mechanicks, of thoſe who had ſhewed themſelves forwardeſt in the laſt Tumult. And, becauſe the *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice ſhould have more Majeſty and Reputation, they ordered, That none under 45 years of Age ſhould exerciſe that Office. To fortifie the State, they likewiſe made other proviſions; inſupportable to thoſe againſt whom they were enacted, and by all honeſt Citizens, even of their own Party, abhorred; for they judged no State ſafe or ſecure, that was to be defended with ſo much Violence. And, not only thoſe of the *Alberti*, who remained in the City, but the *Medici*, who lookt upon themſelves as Deceivers of the People, and many others, were extreamly afflicted at it. And, the firſt that ſought to oppoſe it was Meſſer *Donato di Jacopo Acciaivoli.* This Gentleman, though he were very Great in the City, and rather Superiour than Companion to Meſſer *Maſo Albizi*, who for the

things

things done in the time of his being *Gonfaloniere*, was lookt upon as it were, Head of the Republick, could not live well satisfied among so many Male-contents, nor make (as many do) a private Benefit of the publick Damage; he therefore determined to make tryal if he could restore the Exiles to their Country, or at least, the Admonished to their Degrees. And he went about whispering in the Ears of several Citizens, this his Opinion; demonstrating how there was no other way to quiet the People, and purge the humours of the Factions; Nor stayed he for any thing, but to be drawn for one of the *Lords* to put this his deliberation in practice: And, because in all our Actions *Delay* seems *tedious*, and *Haste* is *dangerous*, he grew inclinable to avoid tediousness to hazard the danger. There were of the Lords, *Michael Acciaivoli* his Consort, and *Nicholas Ricoveri* his Friend: Whereupon Messer *Donato* thought, that having such an Opportunity he ought not to lose it, but desired them to propose a Law to the Councils containing the Restitution of the Citizens; they perswaded by him spoke to their Companions, by whom they were Answered, That they were not to propose new things wherein the Success was dubious, and the Danger certain. Whereupon Messer *Donato* having first in vain tryed all other waies, told them in Anger, That since they would not accept the offer made, to Reform the City quietly, it should be

done by Arms. Theſe Words ſo much diſpleaſed them, that Communicating them to the Heads of the Government, Meſſer *Donato* vvas Cited, and appearing, was by thoſe, by vvhom he had delivered the Embaſſy, Convicted, and thereupon Confined to *Barretta*. *Alaman*, and *Anthony Medici*, with all of that Family deſcended from Meſſer *Alaman*, were likewiſe Baniſhed, together vvith many ignoble Mechanicks, but of Credit among the People; which things happened two years after the Government had been Controuled by Meſſer *Maſo*. The City being in this poſture, vvith many Male-contents vvithin, and many Baniſhed men abroad, there happened to be among the Exiles at *Bolonia*, *Picchio Cavicciulli*, *Thomas de Ricci*, *Antonio de Medici*, *Bennet Spini*, *Anthony Girolami*, *Chriſtopher Carlone*, vvith two other of mean Condition, all Young men, Courageous, and ready to Attempt any thing to return into their own Country: to them ſecret Intelligence vvas given by *Piggiello*, and *Baronio Cavicciulli*, vvho lived Admoniſhed in *Florence*, That if they vvould come into the City, they vvould privily receive them into their Houſes, from vvhence, making a Sally, they might kill *Maſo de Albizi*, and call the People to Arms; vvho being diſcontented, vvould be ready to take the Alarum, eſpecially, ſince they knew they ſhould be ſeconded by the *Ricci*, *Adnicari*, *Medici*, *Mannelli*, and many

ny

ny other Familyes. Hartned with this hopes, on the fourth of *Auguſt*, 1397, they came into *Florence*, and being privily entred, as they were appointed, They ſent about to obſerve Meſſer *Maſo*, reſolving with his death to begin the Tumult; Meſſer *Maſo* comes out of his Houſe, and ſtops at an Apothecaries, neer great St. *Peters*: *Corſo*, who had the Charge of watching him, informes the Conſpirators, who preſently taking Arms, came to the place, but he was gone. However, not daunted for having failed in this firſt deſign, they turned towards the old Market, and killed one of the Adverſe party, and thereupon giving the Alarm, Cryed out to the people to Armes, *Liberty, Liberty*; *and let the Tyrants dye.* Thence turning towards the new Market, at the end of the ſtreet *Calimaza*, they ſlew another; And following with the ſame Cryes their way, and none taking Arms, they retreated to the Hall *Nighittoſa*; where getting on a high place, and having a great multitude about them, who came rather to ſee them than to aſſiſt them, they cryed out to the People with loud voices to Arm, and free themſelves from that Servitude which was ſo hateful to them, *affirming that the oppreſſion and grief of the Male-contents of the City, rather than any particular Injury done to themſelves, had moved them to attempt their Delivery. And that having heard, that many of them prayed to God to give them an opportunity of revenging themſelves, which*

Some of the *Bandiſti* enter *Florence*, 1397.

they would be ready to do whenever they had a Head to lead them, they much wondred that having now Heads to lead and defend them, They ſtood like men amazed, waiting till thoſe that came to give them Freedom were put to Death, and their ſlavery redoubled: That it was ſtrange, that they, who upon the ſmalleſt Injury, were wont to fly to their Arms, could now ſuffer ſo many of their Citizens to be Baniſhed, and ſo many Admoniſhed, and not at all be moved, when it was in their Power and Arbitriment, to reſtore the Exiles to their Country, and the Admoniſhed to their Dignities. All which words, though true, did not one jot move the Multitude; either becauſe they were Fearful, or becauſe the Death of thoſe two had made the Murtherers odious; So that the Deſigners of this Tumult, ſeeing neither their Words, nor Deeds would move any one of the Multitude, too late perceiving how dangerous it is to ſtir up a people to Liberty, who are determined to Serve, deſpairing of any ſucceſs in their Enterprize, they retreated into the Church of St. *Reparata*, where they ſhut themſelves up, not to ſave their Lives, but delay their Death. The Lords troubled at the firſt Rumour had Armed, and lock'd up the Palace; but when they heard the buſineſs, and underſtood who they were that moved this Diſturbance; and where they were ſhut up, they were again well aſſured, and ſent the Captains with many Armed men to take them: So, that without much

trouble

trouble the Church-doors were broke open, and part of them, defending themſelves, ſlain, and part taken; who being examined, there was none other found guilty, but *Barrovio*, and *Pigiello*, *Canicciulli*, who together with them were put to Death. After this accident fell out one of greater importance. The City had in theſe Times, as we ſaid before, Wars with the Duke of *Milan*, who perceiving open Force did not ſuffice to oppreſs it, had recourſe to policy, and by the means of ſome baniſhed *Florentines* (of which all *Lombardy* was full) contrived a plot, to which many within were privy; in which it was agreed, That on a certain day, from the places moſt adjacent to *Florence*, a great Number of the *Banditi*, Skil'd in Arms, ſhould by the River *Arno* enter the City, and running firſt (accompanied with their Friends within) to the houſes of the Chief Miniſters of State, kill them, and Reform the State as they pleaſed: Among the Conſpirators within was one of the *Ricci*, called *Sammiato*; and as it generally happens in Conſpiracies, That a few will not do, and a great many diſcover it, whilſt *Sammiato* Strove to pick up Companions, he found an Anſwer; he revealed the matter to *Silveſter Canicciulli*, whom he thought the Injuries of his Friends would have made faithful; but preſent Fear wrought more upon him then future Hopes, ſo that he went and diſcovered the whole plot to the *Lords*; who cauſing *Sammiato* to be taken, forced him by torments

Another Conſpiracy.

torments to declare the whole particulars of the deſign; but of the Conſpirators, not one was taken but *Thomas Daviſi*, who coming from *Bolonia*, not knowing what had happened in *Florence*, vvas as ſoon as he Arrived, laid hold on: All the reſt, upon the apprehending of *Saminiato*, affrighted, fled. *Saminiato* and *Thomas* puniſhed according to their deſerts. The *Balia* of ſeveral Citizens vvas conſtituted vvith Authority, to make Inquiſition after Delinquents, and ſecure the ſtate: They made Rebels ſix of the Family of *Ricci*, ſix of the *Alberti*, tvvo of the *Medici*, three of the *Scali*, tvvo of the *Strozzi*, *Bindi Altoviti*, *Bernard Admiari*, and many Trades-men. They Admoniſhed likevviſe all the families of *Alberti*, *Ricci*, and *Medici*, for ten years, excepting ſome fevv of them: and among thoſe of the *Alberti*, Meſſer *Antonio* was not Admoniſhed, being looked upon as a Peacable man. It happened, that the fear and jealouſie of this Plot not being yet quite blown over, there was a Monk taken, who had been obſerved, whilſt the Conſpirators were contriving their Buſineſſes to go often to and again from *Bolonia* to *Florence*: He Confeſſed that he had brought ſeveral Letters to Meſſer *Antonio*; whereupon he was preſently taken, and though from firſt to laſt he denyed it, he was Convicted by the Monk, fined in a Sum of Mony, and Baniſhed to three hundred miles diſtance from the City. And, becauſe the

A *Balia* Conſtituted.

Alberti

Alberti daily put the State to trouble, they Baniſhed all of that Family above fifteen years of Age. This Accident happened in the year 1400; and two years afterwards dyed *John Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan*, whoſe Death (as we ſaid before) put an end to that War which had laſted twelve years: In which time, the Government having got more Authority, being now without Enemies abroad or at home, made that glorious Attempt upon *Piſa*, which they bravely won, and remained quiet within themſelves till the year 1433: Only, in the year 1412 the *Alberti*, having broke their Confinements, a New *Balia* was ſet up againſt them, who with new Laws, and Proviſions, ſtrengthened the State, and perſecuted the *Alberti* with the Sword. About that time likewiſe, begun a War with *Ladiſlaus* King of *Naples*, which in the year 1416 ended with the life of that King; and the King having at firſt in that War the worſt of it, yeilded to the *Florentines* the City of *Cortona*, of which he was Lord; but a little after, recruiting his Forces, he renewed the War, which proved more dangerous than the firſt; and had it not ended with his death, as did that with the Duke of *Milan*, the King had brought *Florence* in no leſs danger of loſing her Liberty, than did the Duke. Nor did this War with the King end with leſs good Fortune than the other; for, when he had took *Rome*, *Siena*, all *la Marca*, and *Romagnia*, and wanted nothing but

1400.

1412.

War with *Ladiſlaus* King of *Naples*, 1416.

Florence to open a way for his Forces to march into *Lombardy*. And thus, *Death* was to the *Florentines* a better Friend than any other they had, and more fortunate in ſaving them than all their Valour. After the death of this King, the City was quiet within and without, for Eight years. At the end of which time, together with a War againſt *Philip* Duke of *Milan*, the Factions ſprung up anew, and were never appeaſed till the ruine of that State, which, from the year 1361, to the year 1434, had reigned, and with ſo much Glory waged ſo many important Wars, adding to their Dominions, *Arezzo*, *Piſa*, *Cortona*, *Livorne*, and *Montepulciano*. And greater things had they done if the City had kept themſelves United, and had not again ſtirred up the Ancient Humours, as in the next Book ſhall be more particularly related.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE
FLORENTINE
HISTORY,

Written by

Nicholas Machiavel.

BOOK IV.

CITIES, and especially those which are well ordered (and whose Administration is, by way of Republick) often alter their State and Government, not by distinction of *Liberty* and *Servitude* (as many think,) but of *Servitude* and *Licentiousness*; for *Liberty* is only a Name, reverenced indeed by all, but *Licentiousness* is

the thing eſteemed by the Chief of the People, and their Servitude ſought for by the Nobles: They all being infected with an Ambition, which would not willingly be ſubjected either to the Laws of God or Man. True it is, that when there happens (which is very rare) by the good Fortune of a City, that a good, wiſe, and powerful Citizen attains to the Command, who will ordain ſuch Laws as may either quiet (or, at leaſt, reſtrain from doing Miſchief) theſe Humours in Nobles and People; then ſuch a City may be truly called Free, and that Government firm and laſting: For being founded on good Laws, and ſound Ordinances, there is not ſo much neceſſity afterwards of any mans particular Virtue to maintain them. With ſuch Laws and Ordinances have many Ancient Commonwealths (whoſe Governments were long-liv'd) been endowed. And ſuch Laws and Orders have ever been, and ſtill are, wanting in thoſe who are ever and anon varying their States from Liceſitious to Tyrannical. For in ſuch, by reaſon of the powerful Friends on one ſide, and the other, there can be no ſtedfaſtneſs; one being unpleaſant to Good men, and the other to the Wiſe; one may eaſily do Ill, and the other can very hardly do Well; in the one, Inſolent men have too much Authority, and in the other, Fools: and it is not only requiſite, but neceſſary, that both the one and the other be maintained by the Virtue or

Fortune

Fortune of one man; by whoſe Death it may either dwindle to nothing, or by his continual Adverſity prove unprofitable. I ſay therefore, that the Government, which in the Year 1381, had beginning (in *Florence*) from the Death of Meſſer *George Scali*, proceeded firſt from the Valour of Meſſer *Maſo de gli Albizi*, and afterwards by that of *Nicholas Uzano* was maintained. The City lived from the year 1414, to the year 1422, very quietly; for King *Ladiſlaus* dead, and the State of *Lombardy* divided into ſeveral parts, there was nothing, either within or without, of which they ſtood in fear. Next to *Nicholas de Uzano*, the chief Citizens of Authority were, *Bartholemew Valore*, *Nero Nigi*, Meſſer *Reinald Albizi*, *Neri di Gino*, and *Lapo Nicholini*. The Factions raiſed by the Diſcords between the *Albizi* and the *Ricci*, were afterwards with ſo much Scandal revived by Meſſer *Silveſter de Medici*, that nothing could ſuppreſs or quiet them: And though that which was univerſally favoured, Ruled only three years, and in the year 1381 was vanquiſhed; yet, the greater part of the City being infected with that Humour, it could never quite be extinguiſhed. 'Tis true, That the frequent Parliaments, and the continual Perſecutions of the Heads of it, from the year 1381 to 1400, reduced it almoſt to nothing. The Chief Families which, as Leaders of that Faction were perſecuted, were the *Alberti*, *Ricci*, and

Medici, who were more than once ſpoiled both of their Goods and Men; and if any remained in the City, all Honours were taken from them; which ſtroaks not only humbled that Party, but in a manner conſumed them. Yet there ſtill remained in the minds of men, a memory of the Injuries received, and a deſire of Revenge: which (becauſe they had not power ſuitable to their wills) they kept lockt up in their breaſts. Thoſe popular Nobles, who peaceably Governed the City, committed two Errours which were the ruine of their Government: Firſt, That by a continuance of Rule they grew Proud and Inſolent; and the Second, That by reaſon of the Envy they bore one another, and, for having had too long poſſeſſion of the State, they begun to grow Negligent, and not have that watchful Care over thoſe who might offend them, as they ought: they therefore, by their Corrupt Manners, daily reviving the Hate of the People, and not watching after new Seditions becauſe they did not fear them, or fomenting them by the Envy they bore each other, the Family of the *Medici* came to regain Authority. The firſt among whom, that began to riſe again, was *John di Ricci*. This man having poſſeſſed himſelf of great Riches, and being Naturally Courteous and Liberal, by Conceſſion of thoſe which Governed, was advanced to the Supream Magiſtracy; which was by the Publick received with ſo much joy,

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the Multitude thinking they had now got a Defender, that the wiſeſt and moſt prudent were (not without cauſe) jealous of it; becauſe they ſaw the Ancient Humours again begin to take life: Nor was *Nicholas Uzano* wanting to adverтiſe of it the other Citizens, repreſenting to them how dangerous it was to cheriſh one of ſo univerſal a Reputation; and that it was eaſie to cruſh Diſorders in the Egg, but hard remedying them when they were full hatcht and flown. That he knew *John* had many parts and endowments ſuperiour to *Silveſter*: but *Nicholas* was not at all liſtned to by his Equals, who envyed his Reputation, and deſired rather ſome Aſſiſtance to depreſs him. Theſe Humours thus ſet a working in *Florence*, and ſecretly gathering to a Head, *Philip Viſconti*, ſecond Son of *John Galeazzo*, being by his Brothers death become Lord of all *Lombardy*, and imagining himſelf able enough for the Attempt, he had a mighty deſire to make himſelf Lord of *Genoua*, which now under the Dukedome of Meſſer *Thomas da Campo Fregoſo*, lived free; but he was ſomewhat diſtruſtful of bringing that, or any other Enterprize to perfection, if he firſt concluded not a new League with the *Florentines*, the Reputation of which only he thought would be ſufficient to procure his ſatisfaction. He therefore ſends his Ambaſſadours to *Florence* to demand it. Many Citizens were of Advice not to grant it (who yet wiſhed

Philip Viſconti Duke of *Milan* ſeeks Peace with the *Florentines*.

a continuance of that Peace which had for many years been maintained betwixt them) for they knew the Advantage and reputation, would accrue to him by it, whilſt the City reaped little or no benefit; others were of opinion to grant a new League, and in it impoſe ſuch Conditions upon him, that if he paſſed them, his evil intentions might be diſcovered, and they (if he ſhould break the Peace) more juſtly make War againſt him; but however things were argued, a Peace was concluded, whereby *Philip* promiſed, not to concern himſelf in any thing on this ſide *Pannaro* or the river *Magra*. This accord made, *Philip* takes *Breſchia*, and ſoon after *Genova*, contrary to their opinion who in *Florence* had adviſed the Peace: for all men thought *Breſchia* would be defended by the *Venetians*, and that *Genova* would defend it ſelf. And becauſe in the Agreement made by *Philip* with the Duke of *Genova*, he had reſerved *Serazama* and ſome other Towns on this ſide the *Magra*, with Covenant; That whenever he would alienate them, he ſhould be obliged to ſell them to the *Genoveſe*: *Philip* by this means had violated the Peace, and he had beſides entred into League with the Legat of *Bolonia*: which matters very much angred our Citizens: And made them (doubtful of New Miſchiefs) prepare New Remedies. Which diſturbances coming to *Philips* Knowledg, he ſends Ambaſſadors to *Florence*, either to juſtify himſelf, or to make an eſſay of the

He takes *Breſchia* and *Genova*

And violates his Peace with *Florence*.

Florentines

Florentines deſign; or elſe, to lull them in Security; pretending to be ſurprized at the Jealouſies they had of him, and offering to renounce any thing done by him, that might beget the leaſt ſuſpicion. Which Ambaſſadours, did nothing elſe but divide the City for one part (and thoſe the men of moſt Reputation in the State), judged it convenient to Arm, and be in a readineſs, to counter any deſignes of the Enemy, for when theſe preparations were made, if *Philip* remained quiet, War was not begun but Peace provided for: but others, out of envy to thoſe that governed, or fearful of the War, were of opinion they ought not to ſuſpect a Friend too lightly, nor had he done any thing deſerving ſo much Jealouſy. But they knew very well that the creating the ten, and the hiring Souldiers, was bidding defiance to ſo great a Prince to the ruin of the City, without any hopes of advantage; it being unpoſſible for us, whilſt *Romania* lay between to become Lords of any thing we ſhould conquer, and, we not being in a Condition to attempt any thing on *Romania*, becauſe of the Neighbour-Hood of the Church. However their Authority who were for preparation of War, prevailed over theirs who were for a ſullen peace, and they created the Ten, liſted Souldiers, and levyed new Taxes. Which becauſe they were laid heavier on the Inferiour People than the wealthier Citizens, filled the City full of heart-burnings, and every one con-

the City divided.

They prepare for War.

demned the power and Ambition of the great ones, accuſing them that to ſatisfy their own appetites, and to oppreſs and Domineer over the People, They had raiſed an unneceſſary War. They were not yet come to an open breach with the Duke, but affaires ſtood in a very tickliſh poſture; for the Duke at the requeſt of the Legat of *Bolonia* (who ſtood in fear of Meſſer *Antonio Bentivoglio* who being driven out of the City held a Caſtle of *Bolonia*) had ſent ſome of his forces thither, which bordering on the Dominions of *Florence*, made that ſtate jealous of the intent, but that which ſtartled every one, and became the greateſt occaſion of the War, was the Dukes expedition to *Furli*. *George Ordelaffi* was Lord of *Furli*, who dying left *Theobald* his Son under Guardianſhip of *Philip*: And (though the Mother jealous of ſuch a Guardian) had ſent him to *Lewis Alidoſſo*, Lord of *Imola*, her Father; yet ſhe was forced by the people of *Imola*, to perform the Will of the Dead, and to reſign him again into the hands of the Duke; whereupon, *Philip*, to give the leſs ſuſpition, and better conceal his intentions, commanded the Marqueſs of *Ferrara*, to ſend *Guido Torello* with a competency of forces to take (as his Deputy) poſſeſſion of the Government of *Furli*: and thus fell that Town into *Philips* power; which Wars when (together with the ſending forces to *Bolonia*) it came to be known at *Florence*, facilitated the Determinations

nations of War, though ſtill they found great oppoſition, and *John de Medici* publickly diſwaded them: urging, that though they were certain of the Dukes ill intentions, yet were it better to ſtay till he gave the aſſault, then firſt to attempt him; for in that caſe the War would, in the judgment of the Princes of *Italy*, be as Juſtifiable on the Dukes part as ours: Nor could they ſo reaſonably demand thoſe Aſſiſtances, which otherwiſe they might, if his ambition were firſt diſcovered; and that, with other Hearts, and other Forces ſhould they defend their own then other mens. The other Party alleadged, That it was folly to ſtay for an Enemy in their own Houſes, but bravery to go meet him; that Fortune is kinder to the Aſſailer than the Defender; and that the damage would be leſs (though the charge might be greater) to make their Enemies Country the Seat of War, than their own. Whereupon this opinion prevailed, and it was determined, That the Counſil of Ten ſhould uſe all poſſible means to redeem the City of *Furli* out of the Dukes hands. *Philip* ſeeing that the *Florentines* would ſnatch from him thoſe things he had undertaken to defend, laying aſide all Reſpects, ſent *Agnolo* of *Pergola* with the body of an Army to *Imola*, to the end, that that Lord being buſied in his own Defence, might not be at leiſure to ſuccour his Nephew. And *Agnolo* coming near *Imola*, whilſt the *Florentine* Forces were yet at *Modigliana*, the

Seaſon

Seaſon being ſo ſharp, that the Ditches of the City were frozen, he one night took the Town, and ſent *Lewis* priſoner to *Milan*. The *Florentines* ſeeing *Imola* loſt, and the War broke out, ſent their Army to *Furli*, who laid Siege to the City, and ſtreightned it on all ſides. And becauſe the Dukes Forces ſhould not unite to relieve it, they had taken into Pay Count *Alberigho*, who, from the Town of *Zoganara*, overrun the whole Country as far as *Imola*. *Agnolo* of *Pergola*, ſeeing he could not ſecurely relieve *Friuli*, our Forces had ſo ſtrongly begirt it, reſolves to attach *Zoganara*; judging, That the *Florentines* would not let him take that Town, and if they would relieve it, they muſt raiſe their Siege before *Furli*, and with ſome diſadvantage come to a Battle. He therefore conſtrained Duke *Alberigho*'s men to come to Conditions, *That if they were not in fifteen daies relieved by the* Florentines, *they would ſurrender*. This News ſoon arrived both to the *Florentine* Camp, and City; and every one being deſirous the Enemy ſhould not carry away ſuch a Victory, became the Occaſion of their gaining a much greater: For the Camp raiſed from before *Furli* to relieve *Zoganara*, almoſt as ſoon as they came to engage with the Dukes Forces, were routed, not ſo much by the Valour of their Enemies, as by the Bitterneſs of the weather; for ours having marched for ſeveral hours in very deep dirt, and through violent

The Florentines totally routed.

lent Rains, came wet and weary to encounter a freſh Enemy, that eaſily overcame them. Yet in ſo great a Diſcomfiture, famous throughout all *Italy*, died no more but Signior *Ladovico Albizi*, and two more of his people, who falling off their Horſes were ſtrangled in the Mud. The whole City of *Florence* was infinitely afflicted at the News of this Defeat, but principally thoſe Great men who had adviſed the War, who now beheld their Enemies ſtrong, and themſelves diſarmed, deſtitute of Friends, and the People averſe to them, and in all places with bitter and reproachful words reviling them, complaining of their heavy Taxes laid on them to make a War without cauſe, and uttering ſuch Taunts as theſe: What did they only create the *Ten* to fright the Enemy? How bravely they have relieved *Furli*, and reſcued it out of the Dukes hands? Its apparent now what their Arms and Determinations were; not to defend our Liberty, which is indeed their Enemy, but to increaſe their own Power, which God has juſtly diminiſhed. Nor is this the only Enterprize for which they have burthened the City, for (beſides many others) that againſt King *Ladiſlaus* was juſt like it. Whither will they now fly for help? to Pope *Martin*, harraſſed by them for *Braccio*'s ſake? to Queen *Joan*, whom by abandoning they have forced to caſt her ſelf into the arms of the King of *Arragon*? With many other ſcoffing Expreſſions, uſual with

The People murmur.

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The *Lords* try to appeaſe them.

an Angry people: Wherefore the *Lords* thought convenient to aſſemble many of the Citizens, who by good words might quiet theſe Commotions of the Multitude: to whom Meſſer *Rinaldo de Albizi* (the eldeſt Son of Meſſer *Maſo*, who by his own virtue, and the memory of his Father, aſpired to the Chief Degrees in the City) ſpoke at large: Remonſtrating, *That it was not prudence to judge of things by the Effects, for many times things well adviſed meet with croſs Events, and things ill adviſed ſucceed; but if all Counſel were praiſed for its Succeſs, it would be an encouragement to Errour, and prove very hurtful to th' Commonwealth, becauſe Evil Counſels are ſeldome happy. So likewiſe ſhould we blame a prudent Undertaking, becauſe it had not a joyful Event, we ſhould diſcountenance Citizens, and make them unwilling to ſpeak what they think.* Then he explained to them the neceſſity of undertaking the War, and that if it had not been carryed into *Romania*, it would have been brought into *Toſcany*: but ſince it was the will of God their Army was defeated, the loſs would be the heavier, the more that they forſook it. But if they would turn their faces to fortune, and apply thoſe Remedies they might, they would neither be very ſenſible of the Loſs, nor the Duke of the Victory. And that they ſhould not be caſt down at the future Charge and Taxes; for that the former being rationally to grow leſs, the Burthen of the latter

latter would be much eaſed, for that fewer preparations may ſerve for Defence than Offence. In the end, He exhorted them to imitate their Fathers, whoſe minds no Adverſity being able to daunt, they had ever defended themſelves againſt what Prince ſoever. Upon which, the Citizens perſwaded by his Authority, entertained Count *Odo*, the Son of *Braccio*; into their pay, giving him for Superintendent or Governour, *Nicholas Piccinnio* a Foſterer of *Braccio*'s, and of the greateſt Reputation of any man that ever fought under his Colours; to whom they joyned many other Leaders, and mounted again many of their own men that had loſt their Horſes. They appointed likewiſe Twenty Citizens to levy a new Tax, who taking heart upon perceiving, how much the Great men were caſt down for the laſt Defeat, laid it on them without any manner of reſpect. This Oppreſſion grievouſly offended the Principal Citizens, who at firſt were ſo Civil as to bear their load without much Repining; but when the Injuſtice of it began to be generally complained of, they began to conſult how to eaſe themſelves; which coming to the knowledge of many, the Councils not only obſtructed it, whereupon they went to make the bitterneſs and hardſhip of it be more effectually felt, and to render it more odious, ordered the Exactors of it, with all Severity, to collect it, giving authority to kill any one that ſhould oppoſe the Publick Ser-

Count *Odo* Son of *Braccio*, entertained by the *Florentines*.

Sergeants. From whence happened many diſmal Accidents; as, the ſlaying and wounding ſeveral Citizens: So that many feared things would have come to Blood, and every prudent man dreaded ſome future Evil; the great men (uſed to be Reſpected) not able to endure, being thus trampled on, and others deſirous that every one ſhould be equally Charged. Wherefore many of the Chief Citizens conſulted together, and concluded it neceſſary to reſume the Government, for that their want of Diligence and Care had given men Courage to reprove publick Acts, and encreaſed the boldneſs of thoſe who uſed to be Heads of th *Plebeians.* And, after ſeveral times diſcourſing theſe things among themſelves, they reſolved upon a ſudden meeting all together, and aſſembled in the Church of St. *Stephen* more than Seventy Citizens, by the leave of Meſſer *Ridolfi di Fidi*, and *Francis Gianfigliazzi*, who then ſat as Lords. *John de Medici* met not with them, either becauſe he was not Summoned (they being jealous of him) or, becauſe he would not (differing from them in Judgment) meet. Meſſer *Rinaldo de Albizi* ſpoke to them all, and ſet forth the ſtate of the City, and how by their Negligence it was returned into the power of the *Plebeians*, from whom it had, in the year 1381 been delivered by their Fathers. He put them in mind of the wickedneſs of that Government, which Ruled from 1377 to 80, and that

Speech of *Rinaldo de Albizi.*

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by it, there were none there preſent but had either a Father or a Grandfather ſlain; how they were falling into the like Dangers, and the City relapſing into the like Diſorders; for the Multitude had already laid a Tax at their own pleaſure, and would ere long (if not by Force, or Law reſtrained) create Magiſtrates at their own Arbitriment, whereby one Party would live licentiouſly, and the other in danger, or under the Tyranny of ſome one whom they ſhould make Prince. Thereupon affirming, that every one who loved his Country, or his Honour, ought to reſent it, and call to mind the Valour of *Bardi Mancini*, who redeemed, with the ruine of the *Alberti*, the City out of thoſe dangers that then encompaſſed it: and ſince, the occaſion of this boldneſs aſſumed by the People, proceeded from the numerous *Squittini*, or Imborſations, by the Negligence of thoſe that ordered the Purſes, whereby the Palace became filled with new and Raſcally Fellows, he concluded there was no other way to remedy it, but by reſtoring the Government to the Grandees, and taking away the Authority of the Inferiour Arts, reducing the Fourteen Companies to Seven; whereby the *Plebeians* would have leſs power in the Councils, as well becauſe their Numbers would be diminiſhed, as becauſe the Authorities of the Grandees would be augmented, who out of their ancient Malice would ſtill hate them: Affirming it an act

of

of Prudence to know how to make uſe of Men, according to different Occaſions; for if their Fathers had made uſe of the *Plebeians* to root out the Inſolence of the Grandees, now the Grandees were grown Humble, and the *Plebeians* Inſolent, it were juſt to bridle their Inſolence with the help of thoſe. And that this buſineſs might be managed either by Policy or Power, to either of which they might have eaſie recourſe; for ſome of them being of the Magiſtrates of the *Ten*, might, without much difficulty, bring Forces privily into the City. Meſſer *Rinaldo* was praiſed, and his Counſel approved by every Body. And *Nicholas Vrano* among others ſaid, That all that had been ſpoken by Meſſer *Rinaldo* was true, and the Remedies good and certain, provided they might be applyed without manifeſt Diviſion of the City; which would follow of it ſelf if they would draw *John de Medici* to their Party; for he concurring with them, the powers of the Multitude being without a Head, could do no great Injury; but without his concurrence there was no effecting it but by Arms, which he thought hazardous, both becauſe they might not overcome, or if they did, might not enjoy their Victory modeſtly; refreſhing their memories with their own paſt Records, and how they would not, when they might with eaſe have done it, remedy theſe Inconveniences; whereas now, there was no way left of doing it (without hazard of greater danger)

but

but by gaining him. Commiſſion was therefore given to Meſſer *Rinaldo* to confer with *John*, and endeavour to prevail with him to joyn with them: The Gentleman performed his Commiſſion, and in the moſt obliging terms he could invent, exhorted him to be Aſſiſtant to them in this Enterprize, and not by favouring a Multitude increaſe their boldneſs, to the ruine of the Government and of the City. To which *John* Anſwered, That he believed it the Office of a wiſe and good Citizen, not to alter the accuſtomed and uſual Orders of the City, there being nothing expoſes men more than the Change of them; for thoſe variations muſt offend many, and where numbers are diſcontented, ill Accidents may well be daily feared. *That in his Opinion this deſign of theirs was in two things very pernicious: Firſt, By the giving Honours to thoſe who having never had them will eſteem them leſs, and not having them have leſs reaſon to complain; And the other, By taking them from thoſe who being accuſtomed to enjoy them, will never be at reſt till they get them reſtored. And this, the injury done to one Party will ſeem much greater than the benefit done to the other: ſo that the Authors of it will gain but few Friends, and many Enemies; and the latter will be much more ready to injure them, than the others to defend them. Men being naturally more prone to revenge Injuries than requite Kindneſſes, becauſe this brings Damage with it, and the other Pleaſure and Profit.*

John de Medici's Anſwer to Rinaldo Albizi.

Then

Then particularly addreſſing himſelf to Meſſer *Rinaldo*; *And you* (ſaid he) *had you well weighed the Events of things, and under what vizards of Deceit men walk in this City, would not be ſo hot in this determination; for whoever Counſels you to it, when with your Power they have taken away the Authority from the People, will with their aſſiſtance, whom you muſt by ſuch an injury make your Enemies, take away yours from you. And it will happen to you as it did to* Meſſer Bennet Alberti, *who conſented by perſwaſion of thoſe, who had no kindneſs for him, to the ruine of* George Scali, *and* Thomas Strozzi, *and ſoon after was by thoſe very people that had perſwaded him to it, ſent into Baniſhment.* He therefore exhorted him to a more mature deliberation of the Matter, and that he would imitate his Father, who having gained an univerſal Reputation with the People, ſlighted the malignant tempers of the few. He therefore adviſed, That vvhoever had leſs than half a *Florins* Tax to pay, ſhould be left to his own Choice to pay or no: And, that on the daies the Council aſſembled, every man ſhould be ſecure from his Creditors; Concluding, that for his part he vvould leave their City in the Order he found it. Theſe things being reported abroad, gained *John* Reputation, and contracted a general Hate upon the other Citizens, from vvhoſe Converſation he utterly vvithdrew himſelf, leaſt he ſhould give them encouragement under his Countenance

tenance to contrive Novelties; and in his Diſcourſes he every vvhere explained himſelf as a man deſigning not to foment Sedition, but extirpate it; and had no other intent but to promote, as far as in him lay, the Union of the City. At vvhich, many of his Followers vvere diſcontented, vviſhing that he vvould rather in matters of this nature appear more brisk and lively: Among vvhom vvas *Aleman Medices*, vvho being naturally fierce, continually incenſed him to the perſecution of his Enemies, and favouring his Friends, condemning his coldneſs and deliberate vvay of proceeding, vvhich he urged as the Reaſon, made his Enemies vvithout any reſpect Conſpire againſt him, vvhich Contrivances of them vvould one day come to be the ruine of him and his Friends. His Son *Coſmo* urged him likewiſe to the ſame things; but *John* vvould not be moved by any Diſcoveries or Prognoſtications, from his ſetled Reſolves: hovvever the Faction vvas already knovvn every vvhere, and the City in open Diviſion. There were in the Palace, attending the Lords, two *Cancellieres*, or Secretaries, one called Mr. *Martin*, the other Mr. *Pagolo*. The laſt favoured the Faction of *Uzano*, and the firſt that of *Medices*: And Meſſer *Rinaldo* (ſeeing *John* vvould not agree with them) thought it convenient to get *Martin* removed from his Office, thinking thereby to have the Court more favourable; but the Adverſaries getting Intelligence

telligence of it, *Martin* was not only defended, but *Pagolo* turned out, to the great regret and diſpleaſure of his Party; which had ſoon produced dire effects, had it not been for the War that hung over the City, then extreamly terrified at the Deſeat of *Zagonara*: for, whilſt theſe things were bandied within, *Agnolo* of *Pergola* had taken all the Towns poſſeſſed by the *Florentines* in *Romagnia*, (except *Caſtracazo* and *Modiglia*) ſome of the places being but weak, and others ill Guarded. In the taking of which places happened two things, by which may be known how much Valour is eſteemed even in an Enemy, and baſeneſs and Cowardize deſpiſed. *Braggio del Milano* was Governour of the Rock of *Monte Petroſo*, who, when the Enemy had ſet fire round about him, and that he ſaw no way to ſave the Fortreſs, he threw down Beds and Houſhold-ſtuff from that part above, which had not yet taken fire, and upon them caſt down his little Children, crying out to his Enemies: *Here, take theſe goods which Fortune has given me, and which you may bereave me of; but the Goods of my Mind, where glory and honour reſide, I will neither give you, nor can you force them from me.* The Enemy upon this preſently ran to ſave the Children, and brought him Ropes and Ladders to ſave himſelf, but he would not accept them, chooſing rather to die in the midſt of the flames, than live by the favour of the Enemies of his Country. An Exam-

Examples of the eſteem of Valour, and contempt of Cowardize.

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ple worthy of often praiſed Antiquity, and ſo much the more wonderful becauſe now more rare. His very Enemies reſtored to his Children all that could be ſaved, and with great Care ſent them to their Kindred; nor was the Commonwealth leſs kind to them, for vvhile they lived, they were maintained at publick Charge. The contrary to this happened in *Galeata*, vvhere *Zanobi del Pino* was *Podeſtà*, or Mayor, who vvithout any Defence ſurrendred the Fortreſs to the Enemy, and to compleat his Villany, adviſed *Agnolo* to leave the *Alps* of *Romania*, and come among the little Hills of *Toſcany*, where he might make War with leſs hazard, and more gain. *Agnolo*, who would not endure the baſeneſs and treachery of this mans Soul, delivered him up as a Prey to his vileſt Servants, who, after many Scoffs and taunts, gave him nothing to eat but Paper painted with Snakes and Serpents; telling him, That by that diet they would make him, from *Guelph* turn *Ghibelline*; ſo that, pining and languiſhing, in few dayes he dyed. Mean while Count *Oddo*, and *Nicholas Piccinino* were got into the Vale of *Lamona*, to try to reduce the Lord of *Faenza* to the *Florentines* ſide, or at leaſt hinder *Agnolo* of *Pergamo* from making farther Inroads in *Romagnia*: But that Valley being ſtrong, and the Inhabitants all bred Souldiers, they ſlew *Oddo*, and carryed *Nicholas Piccinino* priſoner to *Faenza*. But Fortune pleaſed that the

Oddo ſlain, and *Piccinino* priſoner.

Florentines ſhould gain that, by being overcome, which poſſibly had they been Conquerours, they had not obtained; for *Nicholas* vvrought ſo with the Lord of *Faenza*, that he made them become friends to *Florence*; by which Agreement *Nicholas* was ſet free, but could not himſelf follow that Counſel he had given to others; for contracting with thoſe Citizens about his Entertainment, whether the Conditions ſeemed to him too low, or that he thought he could do better elſewhere, he went from *Arezza* (where he was in Garriſon) into *Lombardy* and took pay of the Duke. The *Florentines* terrified at this Accident, and daunted with ſo great Loſſes and Expences, judging themſelves no longer able to maintain this War alone, ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Venetians*, to deſire them (whilſt yet with eaſe they might) to oppoſe themſelves to the growing greatneſs of a Man, whom, if they permitted to proceed, would in the end be no leſs pernicious to them than to the *Florentines*; and *Francis Carmignuola*, a Man in theſe times held to be moſt expert in War, and who had formerly ſerved in Armes under the Duke, but was ſince rebelled againſt him, exhorted them to the ſame. The *Venetians* were at firſt doubtful, not knowing how far they might truſt *Carmignuola*, whoſe peike with the Duke they feared might be reconciled; but whilſt matters ſtood thus in ſuſpence, it happened that the Duke,

The *Florentines* crave Aid of the *Venetians*.

Duke, by meanes of a ſervant of *Carmignuola*, cauſed him to be poiſoned: the Poyſon was not ſtrong enough to kill him, but reduced him almoſt to extremity, the occaſion of which being diſcovered, took away all ſuſpicion from the *Venetians*; and the *Florentines* continuing to ſolicite them, made a League with them, Every one to make War at their own Charge, and the Acquiſitions made in *Lombardy* to be the *Venetians*, and thoſe in *Romania* and *Toſcany* the *Florentines*; and *Carmignuola* was made Captain General of the League. By this meanes the War was brought into *Lombardy*, where it was Vigorouſly proſecuted by *Carmignuola*, who in few months took many Towns from the Duke, together with the City of *Breſcia*; which Conqueſts were in thoſe Times, and as War was then made, thought wonderful. This War had laſted from 1422 to 27, and the Citizens of *Florence* were weary of the Taxes as they were hitherto laid, which made them reſolve to renew them in another manner: And becauſe they ſhould be proportioned according, they ordered them to be laid upon Stock, and that whoever had a hundred *Florines* Eſtate, ſhould pay one half Tax: and the Law and not Men being to diſtribute it, many Wealthy Citizens were ſorely grieved: And before it could be determined, it was by them oppoſed; Only *John Medices* openly commended it, and obtained it, and becauſe in diſtributing it, they Taxed every

Carmignuola Generall of the League.

The *Cataſto*: a Tax upon every mans Stock.

mans ſtock (which the *Florentines* call *Accaſtare*) they named this *Sax Cataſto*. This Law in ſome meaſure regulated the Tyranny of the Great men, becauſe they could not now beat the Inferior People, and make them with threats hold their tongues in Councils as formerly. The Tax was therefore univerſally accepted by them, but by the great men with infinite diſpleaſure ſubmitted to. But as it happens, That men are never ſatisfied, but having got one thing deſire another, ſo the people not content with the equality of the Tax impoſed by Law, they demanded a ſearch into times paſt, and Inquiry to be made what the rich men had paid leſs than the *Cataſto*, and that they ſhould be made to pay ſo much more to equal them, who to pay what they ought not, had ſold their inheritances. This demand ſtartled men more than the *Cataſto* had done, and they defended themſelves by condemning it as the moſt unjuſt thing in the world, being placed upon moveables, poſſeſſed to day, and gone to morrow; and that beſides, that there were many who had Monies hid, which the *Cataſto* could not find out; to which they added, that thoſe who Governed the Common-wealth, leaving their own buſineſs undone, ought to be the leſs charged by it; and, that it was not juſt that the City ſhould have their Labour, Induſtry, and Mony too; and only the others, Mony. But others who were pleaſed with the *Cataſto* Anſwered, That if Moveables

ables varyed, the Taxes might likewiſe vary, and by varying them often that inconveniency be remedied. And for thoſe who had Monies hid, there was no account to be made; for vvhat they imployed not to benefit, there vvas no reaſon ſhould pay, and when once they imployed it, it would be diſcovered: And if they thought much to employ their times and pains for the Commonwealth, they ſhould give over; for enough loving Citizens were to be found, who vvould willingly aſſiſt it with their Mony, and Counſel too. And beſides, the Advantages and Honours attending Government were ſo great, that they ought to content themſelves vvith them, without expecting to be freed from the burthens laid on others. But they gueſt not where the Shooe pincht; for it grieved them moſt that they could not wage a War without bearing a ſhare with others in the Charge. And if this courſe had been taken before, neither the War with King *Ladiſlaus*, nor that with Duke *Philip* had ever been begun, which vvere only made to enrich the Citizens, and not out of Neceſſity. But theſe ſtirring Humours were quieted by *John Medices*, who alleadged, *That it was not convenient to make a review into paſt things, but to provide well for the future; and if the Taxes had hitherto been unjuſt, they ought to return thanks to God for finding out now a way to adjuſt them, and with it might be rather a means to reunite than divide the City;*

John de Medici endeavours to prevent a review into paſt Taxes.

which muſt needs be if they made an Inquiſition into paſt Impoſts, to make them equal with the preſent: that he that is content with a moderate Victory, chooſes the better part; for they who would over-do things, often loſe all. With theſe, and ſuch like Words, he quieted theſe Humours, and put a ſtop to all further Diſputes about the Equality. In the mean time, a Peace was with the Duke concluded at *Ferrara*, by means of the Popes Legate; the Articles of which were not at all obſerved by the Duke: whereupon they of the League again renewed the War, and fighting with the Duke at *Maclovio*, defeated him. After which diſcomfiture the Duke made new Propoſals of Agreement, to which both the *Venetians* and *Florentines* conſented: Theſe, becauſe they grew jealous of the *Venetians*, thinking they ſpent too much to make others Great; Thoſe, becauſe they perceived *Carmignuola*, after the Dukes defeat, proceed very ſlowly, ſo that they could not well tell how they might longer truſt him. Peace was therefore concluded in the year 1428, by which the *Florentines* were reſtored to all the Towns they had loſt in *Romania*, and *Breſcia* remained in the *Venetians* hands; and the Duke moreover gave them *Bergamo*, and the adjoyning Territory. The *Florentines* ſpent in this War 3500000 Ducats, by which the *Venetians* gained Power and Greatneſs; and they, Poverty and Diſſention. Peace being no ſooner Concluded abroad,

Peace concluded with *Milan.*

1428.

abroad, but the War vvas revived at home: For the principal Citizens not able to ſuffer the *Cataſto*, nor knowing any vvay how to eaſe themſelves of its intollerable burthen, they contrived how to raiſe up more Enemies againſt it, that they might have the more force to oppoſe and ſuppreſs it: Declaring to the Officers of the Impoſition, that by Law they vvere commanded likewiſe to make Enquiry into the Towns abroad, ſubject to them, and to find out, if there vvere there any *Florentines* Goods; vvhereupon the Subjects were all on appointed daies ordered to bring in Schedules of their Eſtates. Upon vvhich the *Volterans* diſcontented, ſent their Complaints to the Senate, which ſo incenſed the Officers of the Impoſitions, that they clapt eighteen of them in priſon; vvhich Action enraged the *Volterans*, yet out of reſpect to their Priſoners, they for the preſent rebelled not. About this time *John de Medices* fell ſick, and perceiving his diſtemper to be mortal, called *Coſmo* and *Laurence* his Sons, and told them: *I believe the time of Life allotted me at my Birth, by God and Nature, is now almoſt expired; and I ſhall die content, becauſe I leave you Rich, Healthy, and in ſuch a Condition, that you may (if you follow my foot-ſteps) live honourably in* Florence, *and eſteemed by all men. Nor is there any thing contributes more to my preſent ſatisfaction than the Conſcience of never having offended, but rather (to the utmoſt of my*

New Diviſions in *Florence.*

The Speech of *John Medici* at his Death.

power) pleaſured all men: And let me perſwade you to do the like, and (if you would live ſecure and quiet) to aſſume no more of the Government, than by the Laws and by Men is given to you, which will never be attended either with Envy or Danger; for it's what men ſeize by Violence, and not what's freely given them, that creates a Hatred of them. And many there are who out of a Covetous deſire of other mens, have loſt their own Poſſeſſions, or enjoyed them with Care and Trouble. By obſerving this Golden Rule have I, (among ſo many Factions and contrarieties of Opinions) not only maintained, but increaſed my reputation in this City; and you, following the ſame Courſes, will find the ſame effects; but doing otherwiſe, you cannot expect your ends to be happier than theirs, who, in your memory, have undone themſelves, and ruined their Families. Soon after he dyed, univerſally lamented by the City, as his excellent Qualities deſerved. This *John* was ſo remarkably Charitable, that he not only gave Alms when it was asked, but many times prevented the Petitions of the Poor. He loved all men, prailing the Good, and pitying the Bad. He never ſought after Offices, yet had all conferred on him: He never went to the Palace uncalled for; was a lover of Peace, and a deteſter of War; a reliever of men in Adverſity, and a ſupporter of them in Proſperity; a ſtranger to publick Rapine, and a fartherer of Common Good: Courteous he was in his Magiſtracies,

cies, and though of no great Eloquence, yet of ſingular Wiſdom. He ſeemed to be of a Melancholy Complexion, but was in Converſation obliging and merry. He died very rich in Treaſure, but richer in his Citizens Love and good Report; whoſe Inheritances, as well of goods of Mind as Fortune, were by his Son *Coſmo* not only preſerved, but enlarged. The *Volterrans* were ſoon weary of Impriſonment, and to procure their Liberty, promiſed to comply with whatever was commanded: Whereupon, being ſet free, at their return to *Volterra*, they found the time come wherein they were to make Election of new *Priors*; among whom was drawn one *Juſtus* a *Plebeian*, but of great Credit among the People, and one of thoſe who had been impriſoned in *Florence*. He incenſed both for the publick and private Injury received from the *Florentines*, (and more particularly perſwaded by one *John*, a Gentleman that ſat with him in the Magiſtracy, who encouraged him, by the favour of the People, and the power of the Priors, to take the City from the *Florentines*, and make himſelf Prince of it) ranſacked the Town, ſeized the *Florentine* Governour, and, with conſent of the people, made himſelf Lord of it. This Novelty happening in *Volterra* much diſturbed the *Florentines*, yet having made ſo late an Agreement with the Duke, they hoped they had time to recover it: And not to let ſlip the opportunity, ſent

Volterra rebels.

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immediately *Rinaldo Albizi*, and *Palla Strozzi*, as their Commiſſaries thither. *Juſtus* having reaſon to ſuppoſe the *Florentines* would aſſault him, craved Aid of *Siena* and *Lucca*. *Siena* denied him, alleadging, they were in League with *Florence*; and *Paul Guinigi*, then Lord of *Lucca*, to regain the favour of the *Florentine*, which he doubted to have loſt during the War with *Millan*, not only refuſed *Juſtus* any Aſſiſtance, but ſent his Envoy priſoner to *Florence*. The Commiſſaries mean while, that they might find the *Volterrans* the more unprovided, ſpeedily drew together their Men at Arms, and in the Neather Vale of *Arno*, and Province of *Piſa*, levyed ſufficient Infantry, and marched directly to *Volterra*. Nor was *Juſtus* either upon the refuſal of Aid from his Neighbours, or upon the approach of the *Florentines* to aſſault him, any whit diſmayed, but truſting to the ſtrength of the ſcituation, and largneſs of the Town, prepared for his defence. There was in *Volterra* one Meſſer *Arcolano*, Brother of that *John* who had perſwaded *Juſtus* to ſeize the Principality, who being of great Credit among the Nobility, gathered together ſundry of his Friends and Confidents, and declared to them, How God, by this Accident, had lent his helping hand to the Neceſſities of the City; for if they would now aſſent to take Arms, and thruſting *Juſtus* from his Lordſhip, reſtore the City to the *Florentines*,

tines, they would both themſelves become the Heads of that Town, and preſerve all its Ancient Priviledges. Whereupon, agreeing upon the matter, they preſently went to the Palace where *Juſtus* reſided, and the greater part of them ſtaying below, Meſſer *Arcolano*, with three more, went into the Hall where he was, and finding him with ſome Citizens, drew him apart into another Room, as if they would communicate to him ſome matter of importance, and there all falling upon him ſlew him: Yet were they not ſo nimble, but that *Juſtus* had time to lay hands on his Sword, and before they could diſpatch him, deſperately wounded two of them; but not able to deal long with ſo many, he was in the end ſlain, and his Carkaſs thrown out of the Palace: And thoſe of *Arcolano*'s Party taking Arms, ſurrendred the City to the *Florentine* Commiſſaries that lay ready at hand with their Forces, who without any farther Capitulations entred the Town, whereby the *Volterrans* made their Condition much worſe than it was before; for, among other things, they were diſmembred of moſt part of their Territories, which was reduced under a Lieutenancy. Thus was *Volterra* loſt and gained in an inſtant, and no occaſion of War had remained, if ſome particular mens Ambition had not given a being to it. There had for a long time ſerved the *Florentines*, in their Wars againſt the Duke, one *Nicholas Fortebraccio*,

Volterra reduced.

braccio, Siſters Son to *Bracchio* of *Perugia*. Peace being Concluded, he was diſmiſſed by the *Florentines*, and when the Revolution at *Volterra* happened, was quartered at *Fucechio*; whereupon the Commiſſaries thought fit to employ him and his Forces. And it was ſuppoſed, that whilſt that Affair was in agitation, *Rinaldo* had perſwaded him, under ſome pretended quarrel, to aſſail the *Luccheſi*, hoping to manage things ſo, that the *Florentines* ſhould own the Attempt, and make him General of the War. *Volterra* thus ſurprized, and *Fortebraccio* returned to his Quarters at *Fucechio*, either upon *Rinaldo*'s perſwaſions, or having deſigned it himſelf, in *November* 1429, with three hundred Horſe, and three hundred foot, ſeizes upon *Kuoti* and *Compito*, two Caſtles of the *Luccheſi*, and ſo marching forward plundred the whole Country. The News of which was no ſooner publiſhed in *Florence*, but the ſtreets were filled with Committees of all ſorts, and moſt wiſhed an Attempt to be made upon *Lucca*. The Chief Citizens favouring it, were the *Medici*, and with them joyned *Rinaldo*, induced to it, either out of hopes it would prove advantagious to his Country; or, Ambition, preſuming upon the honour of the Victory. Thoſe which diſapproved it were *Nicholas de Uzano*, and his Party. 'Tis almoſt incredible there ſhould be ſuch variety of Opinions in one and the ſame City, and that in ſo material a point, as

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making a War for thoſe Citizens, and that very People, who, after Ten years Peace, had blamed a War againſt Duke *Philip*, for defence of their Liberty. Now, after ſuch vaſt Expence, and reducing the City under ſuch loads of Oppreſſion and Neceſſity, eagerly preſſed an Expedition againſt *Lucca*, and the invading the Liberties of others; and on the other hand, thoſe who had urged that, oppoſed this. So ſtrangly variable are the Minds of men, and ſo much more ready are the Multitude to ſeize anothers Right, than defend their own; for hopes of Winning prevails above fear of Looſing; this being never dreaded till it approach, but the other alwaies at a diſtance hoped for. And the People of *Florence* were not only ſwell'd with the flattering hopes of the Victories which *Fortebraccio* had, and might obtain, but encouraged by Letters from the Governours adjacent to *Lucca:* for the Deputies of *Peſcia* and *Vico* wrote for leave, to take poſſeſſion of the Caſtles offered to be ſurrendred to them, aſſuring that almoſt the whole Territory of *Lucca* would ſubmit. Beſides, when the Lord of *Lucca* ſent his Ambaſſadour to *Florence*, to complain of the Spoils made by *Nicholas*, and to intreat the Senate, not to commence a War againſt their Neighbours, and againſt a City that had always been their Friend. This Ambaſſadour was called *James Vivian*, who had formerly been kept Priſoner by *Paul Guinigi*,

Guinigi, Lord of *Lucca*, for Conſpiring againſt him, and though he were found guilty, had his life ſpared; and imagining *Vivian* had forgiven him the Injury, as he had pardoned him his life, he now truſted and employed him; but the memory of the danger he had paſſed, prevailed with Meſſer *Vivian* above the benefit received; ſo that being now come to *Florence*, he privily encouraged the Citizens to the War; and his encouragements being fortified with the hopes they had before conceived, made the Senate aſſemble a Council, wherein appeared 498 Citizens, before whom by the Chief of the City the Matter was debated. Among the firſt that furthered the Enterprize (as has been ſaid before) was Meſſer *Rinaldo*, who ſet forth the Advantages accruing by the Victory, and the preſent fitneſs of the opportunity; the Duke and *Venetians* having deſerted them, and the Pope (buſied in the Affairs of the Kingdom) not able to ſuccour them. To which he joyned the facility of winning that City, ſlave to a Citizen of its own, and thereby having loſt its Native vigour, and ancient Care to defend its Liberty: So that by means of the People, ſtudying how to drive out the Tyrant, or the Tyrants fear of them, Succeſs was not to be doubted. He likewiſe laid before them the Injuries that Lord had done their Common-wealth, and how dangerous it were if the Pope or Duke ſhould renew the War: Concluding

Debates about a War with *Lucca*.

cluding, that never any undertaking of the *Florentine* people was either more Eaſy, more Advantagious, or more juſt. In oppoſition to which Opinion, *Nicholas Da Uzzano* ſtood forth and ſaid; That the City of *Florence* never undertook a more unjuſt nor a more hazardous Enterprize; for in the firſt place they wounded themſelves by wounding a City of the *Guelph* faction, which had alwayes been moſt affectionate to *Florence*, and which with danger to it ſelf, had received into its Sanctuary the baniſhed *Guelfes*, that durſt not abide their own Country: Nor was there any Record to be produced, That *Lucca* whilſt free had ever offended *Florence*; but if thoſe which had enſlaved her had done it, as firſt *Caſtruccio*, and now the preſent *Lord*, the blame was to be laid on the *Tyrant* and not the *City*. If therefore they would make War againſt the Tyrant, without waging it againſt the Citizens, it would be much more reaſonable; but ſince that could not be, he would never conſent to the ſpoiling and ſacking of a City that had ever been their Friend: however, ſince Right and Wrong are things which now a daies were made no account of, he would urge them no farther, and only conſult of the Advantages our City might poſſibly gain by this attempt. Whereupon his opinion was, That thoſe things only could be properly called Advantagious, which were not probably liable to loſs and damage, and therefore he could

could not underſtand how any would reaſonably term that Enterprize advantagious, where the Loſs was certain, and the Profit doubtful: that certain loſs would be the vaſt Charges attending ſuch an Enterprize, which ſeemed ſo great that they were enough to terrifie any peaceable City, much more ours tired and harraſſed with tedious War: The Advantages propoſed, would be the adding *Lucca* to our Dominion, which he confeſſed would be great, but the doubts of ſucceſs were ſo Numerous, that the acquiſition to him ſeemed impoſſible; Nor could it enter into his belief that either Duke *Philip*, or the *Venetians*, would be pleaſed with it; for the laſt appeared only to conſent that they might not appear ingratefull, having lately with the *Florentines* Mony won ſo great a Dominion, and the other would rejoyce to ſee us by a new War expoſed to the Expence of more Treaſure; So that dreined at once of our Men and Mony, we might be, by him, the eaſier infeſted: Nor would he at any time, even in the height of the Enterprize, and in our higheſt hopes of Victory, want meanes to ſend relief to the *Luccheſi*, either covertly with *Mony*, or by pretended diſmiſſing his Troopes, and ſending them like Souldiers of fortune to their aſſiſtance. He exhorted them therefore to wave the Enterprize, and Study ſuch a manner of living with the Tyrant as they might be able to ſuppreſs their Enemies by themſelves; for there was no readier

readier way to ſubdue them, than letting them ſtill live under the Tyrant, to be by him oppreſſed and weakned; and by prudent management it might be effected, That the Tyrant no longer able to maintain his power, nor they knowing how to Govern of themſelves, muſt of neceſſity fall under our Protection. But the oppoſite humours having got the predominancy, he perceived his Adviſe not at all liſtned to, yet he would take upon him the freedom of Prognoſticating, That they would ruſh upon a War of certain and great expence, attended with many dangers within, and inſtead of poſſeſſing themſelves of *Lucca*, free it from the Tyrants yoak, and from a weak and enſlaved City, not only ſet them at Liberty, but engage their Enmity, and create to themſelves in time, an obſtacle to the growing greatneſs of the Republique. Thus was this deſign controverted, till at laſt, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, they ſought privately to gain Voices, ſo that in the up-ſhot there appeared of the whole Number only 98 Diſſenters; whereupon War was determined, a Councel of *Ten* Created to manage it, and Horſe and Foot ordered to be levied. *Aſtorre Gianni*, and *Rinaldo Albizi* were appointed Generals, and it was agreed, That *Nicholas Fortebrace* ſhould have the government of the places he had taken, he ſtill proſecuting the War under our pay. The Generals with their Army being arrived in the Territories of *Lucca*, divided their For-

War with *Lucca* reſolved on.

ces: *Aſtorre* marched down into the Plain towards *Camagiore*, and *Pietraſanta*, and *Rinaldo* with his Party went up into the Mountains, judging that the whole Country vvaſted, the City would be eaſily ſubdued. This action proved unfortunate, not but that they ſurprized many Tovvns, but becauſe there vvere great defects in the Management of both Generals. And moſt certain it is *Aſtorre Gianni* contributed much to his ovvn diſhonour. There is neer *Pietraſanta* a Vale called *Seravezza*, rich and full of inhabitants, vvho hearing the General was coming towards them, went to meet him, and ſubmitting themſelves, deſired to be received as faithful Subjects of the *Florentine* people: *Aſtorre* made ſhew of accepting their ſubmiſſion, but afterwards with his Souldiers ſeizing all the Paſſes and Fortreſſes of the Valley, he cauſed all the men to aſſemble in their principal Church, where he took them all Priſoners, and then ſacked and ſpoiled the whole Country, not ſparing the Conſecrate places; but in a cruel and avaritious manner, robbing the Churches, and vvithout reſpect, abuſing both Virgins and married Women. Theſe barbarous proceedings were no ſooner related in *Florence*, but the whole City, as well as the Magiſtracy were offended at them; for ſome of the *Serravezi* who had eſcaped out of the Generals hands, fled to *Florence*, and in every Street, and in every Market place, filled the Ears of the People

The ill management of the *Florentine* Generals.

People with the relations of their Miſeries: Inſomuch, that encouraged by many Citizens, who were deſirous to have the General puniſhed, either becauſe they indeed thought him a wicked Man, or becauſe he was contrary to their Faction, they vvent before the Council of *Ten*, and demanded Audience; to which, being admitted, one of them ſpake in this manner: "We are "very well aſſured (moſt Mighty *Lords*) "that your Lordſhips would afford both "belief and Compaſſion to what vve have "now to utter, did you know in vvhat "manner your General has uſed our Coun- "try, and how cruelly we have been treat- "ed by him. Our Vale (as may be found "at large in your Records) was alwaies "*Guelph*, and has been a faithful Sanctuary "of your Citizens, when perſecuted by the "*Ghibellines* they fled thither for ſhelter: "And our Anceſtours have ever had in a- "doration the Name of this Noble Com- "monwealth, as the Heads of that Sect. "Whilſt the *Luccheſi* were *Guelphs*, we "willingly ſubmitted to their Rule; but "ſince a Tyrant uſurped over them, and "they deſerting their Old Friends, inclined "to the *Ghibelline* Party, we have rather "by force than good-will paid them Obe- "dience. God knows how often we have "prayed for an opportunity to teſtifie our "zeal to the Ancient Cauſe and Party. But "how blind are men in their deſires? what "vve coveted for our Safety, is become our

The Complaint of the *Serravezi*.

"Ruine: For no ſooner heard we that your "Enſigns were marching towards us, but "we went forth to meet them, not as E-"nemies to oppoſe, but (as our Anceſtours "were wont) to ſubmit our Vale, our "Selves, our Lives and our Fortunes, into "the hands of your General; relying on "his faith, and believing to find him, if not "of the noble *Florentine* temper, yet at "leaſt not utterly void of Humanity: your "Lordſhips muſt pardon us, if the inſup-"portableneſs of our Sufferings conſtrain "us to ſpeak things undecent: That Gene-"neral of yours has nothing of a Man but "the Preſence, nor of a *Florentine* but "the Name. He is the moſt deadly plague, "the moſt ravenous Tiger, and moſt exe-"crable Monſter Nature ever produced; "for Aſſembling us in our Church, under "pretence of ſpeaking with us, he made us "Captives, burning and ruining all our "Valley: robbing, ſacking and plundering "the Goods of the Inhabitants; beating "and ſlaying their Perſons; defiling their "Wives, and raviſhing their Virgins; nay "forcing them from their tender Mothers "arms, to make them a prey to the beaſtly "Luſt of his Souldiers. Had we by any "Injury deſerved this from the *Florentine* "People, or had we oppoſed his Arms "and been taken, we ſhould have had leſs "cauſe to complain, nay rather we ſhould "have accuſed our ſelves, and blamed thoſe "Injuries, and that Arrogance of ours

which

" which had brought thoſe Miſeries upon
" us; but when diſ-armed we ſubmitted
" our ſelves, then to rob and ſpoil us, and
" treat us with ſo much deſpite and igno-
" miny, is a Grief our hearts would burſt
" if we did not diſcloſe it. And though
" we might have filled all *Lombardy* with
" our Complaints, and to the ſcandal of
" this City, have ſpread abroad the fame
" of our barbarous Injuries throughout all
" *Italy*, we have forborn to do it, unwilling
" to blemiſh ſo Noble, ſo Juſt, and ſo Com-
" paſſionate a Commonwealth, with the
" villany and cruelty of one diſhoneſt Citi-
" zen, whoſe covetous temper, had we be-
" fore our ruine been made ſenſible of, we
" ſhould have ſtrained our ſelves to ſatisfie
" his greedy mind (though it be inſatiate,
" and bottomleſs as the Sea) by giving up
" part of our Subſtance to ranſom the re-
" mainder: But ſince that Remedy is too
" late, we are forced now to have recourſe
" to your Lordſhips, humbly beſeeching you
" to grant ſome relief to the Misfortunes of
" your poor afflicted Subjects, that Men be not
" by our Examples affrighted from ſubmit-
" ting themſelves to your Government: or,
" if our infinite Miſeries cannot move you,
" yet let the fear of Gods Anger perſwade
" you, who has beheld his Churches ſackt,
" and burnt, and our People betrayed in the
" very boſoms of them. And herewith
Concluding, they caſt themſelves proſtrate
on the ground, beſeeching that their Goods

and Country might be reſtored to them, and (though the Womens loſt Honours could not be retreived) yet, that the Wives might be returned to their Husbands, and the Children to the Parents. The barbarouſneſs of this Fact being before reported, and now by the tongues and tears of theſe afflicted Men confirmed, ſo moved the Magiſtracy, that without any delay they recalled *Aſtorre*, who was afterwards condemned and admoniſhed. Inquiſition was likewiſe made after the Goods of the *Seravezeſi*, and all that could be found reſtored, and the remainder were in proceſs of time, by the City, ſatisfied. On the other ſide, Meſſer *Rinaldo de Albizi* lay under the ſcandal of having perſwaded the War, not for publick Advantage, but private Gain; and, that ſince his being made General, his eager deſire of ſubduing *Lucca* was vaniſhed, and he was ſatisfied with robbing and ſpoiling the Country, ſtocking his own Farms with Cattle, and his Houſes with plunder: Nor yet content with his own ſhare of the prey, he bought the private Souldiers Purchaſe, and ſo from a General was become a Merchant. Theſe Calumnies coming to his Ears, touched to the quick his high and haughty Soul, more than became a Man of his rank and gravity, inſomuch, that fretted at the Magiſtrates and Citizens, without expecting or asking leave, he returns to *Florence*, and preſenting himſelf before the *Ten*, ſaid: *That he very well*

Rinaldo de Albizi accuſed, leaves the Army.

knew

knew how great difficulty and danger there was in ſerving a looſe People, and a divided City; for the one are credulous of every idle Rumour, and the other puniſhes bad Succeſs, never rewards the good, and blames the doubtful; ſo that none praiſe him that is Victorious, all condemn him that Errs, and ſlander him that is Unſucceſsful; his very Friends perſecuting him out of Envy, and his Enemies out of Hatred: Yet he had never ſtood ſo much in awe of Evil tongues, as to forbear, for fear of them, any Action that might redound to the advantage of his City. 'Tis true, the preſent abuſes and ſlanders had over-wrought his patience, and made him change his Nature; He therefore beſought the Magiſtrates for the future, to be more ready to defend the Fame of their Citizens, if they expected their readineſs to act for the good of their Country; and, ſince Florence *permitted them not to Triumph, they would at leaſt reſcue them from the reproach of Evil tongues, remembring themſelves to be Citizens of the ſame Town, and might, ſometime or other, have thoſe Charges impoſed on them, might make them feel how bitter Calumny is to an honeſt mind.* The *Ten* temporizing ſtrove to appeaſe him, and committed the Charge of the War to *Neri di Gino*, and *Alamanno Salviati*, who leaving off ſpoiling the Country, made their approaches to the Town; but becauſe the Seaſon was yet very Cold, they ſat down at *Cappannole*, where, though the Generals thought they loſt time, and

were deſirous to lay a cloſer Siege; yet the Souldiers becauſe of the bitterneſs of the Weather would not conſent, though the *Ten* ſolicited them to Decamp, and would at admit no excuſe at all. There was at this time in *Florence* an excellent Architect, called *Philip Bruneleſchi*, who with many excellent Buildings had repleniſhed our City, ſo that he deſerved after his death to have his Statue ſet up in Marble in the principal Church of *Florence*, with an Inſcription on the Pedeſtal, teſtifying his Excellencies of that kind. This Man declared how *Lucca*, conſidering the ſituation of the City, and the Courſe of the River *Serchio*, might eaſily be drowned, and was ſo poſitive in it, that the *Ten* gave him leave to try the Experiment, but his project produced only diſorder in our Camp, and ſafety to the Enemy: for the *Lucchesi* with a high and ſtrong Bank oppoſed the Courſe of the Water, on that ſide whither they had turned the River, and then in the Night cut the banks of that Channel by which they conducted the Stream; ſo that the Banks towards *Lucca* being raiſed, and the Ditch, by which the Water was brought, broken, the Stream reverted into the Plain, whereby the Camp was forced to draw farther off, and could no more approach the Town. This Deſign proving thus unſucceſsful, the *Ten* that were newly Elected ſent Meſſer *John Guiccardine* to be General. He with all ſpeed poſſible begirt the Town, and

Attempt made to drown *Lucca*.

and the Lord of it finding himſelf now ſtreightned, by Advice of *Anthony Roſſo*, (reſident there from the State of *Siena*) ſent *Silveſter Trenta*, and *Lodovick Bonviſi* to *Milan*: They on the behalf of their Lord, deſired that Dukes Aid; but finding him cold, they privately requeſted him to ſupply them with Forces, promiſing on the part of the People, to deliver up their Lord Priſoner, and ſurrender to him the poſſeſſion of the City: Aſſuring him, That if he accepted not this offer, the Lord would deliver up the Town to the *Florentines*, who by large Promiſes ſolicited him to it: which Suggeſtion put the Duke in ſuch fear, that, laying aſide all Reſpects, he gave order, that the Earl *Francis Sforza*, his principal Captain, ſhould publickly ask his Licence to go into the Kingdom of *Naples*; which having eaſily obtained, he comes with his Forces to *Lucca*: though the *Florentines* miſtruſtful of the Contrivance, and doubtful of the Iſſue, had ſent to Count *Boccacino Alamanni* to prevent him. Earl *Sforza* being thus got into *Lucca*, the *Florentine* Camp retreated to *Libra-fatta*; and the Earl preſently marches and inveſts *Peſcia*, where *Pagolo Diacetto* was Governour; who taking Counſel rather of Fear than Honour, flies to *Piſtoia*. And had not the Town of *Peſcia* been defended by *John Malavolti*, who Commanded the Guards there, it had been certainly loſt. The Earl therefore failing to take it at the

Sforza comes to aſſiſt Lucca.

firſt Aſſault, goes to the Borough of *Bugiano*, and takes it, and burns *Stiliano* a Caſtle adjacent. The *Florentines* growing ſenſible of theſe Incroachments, had recourſe to a Remedy which had often ſteaded them, knowing well that where Force failed to counterpoiſe a Mercenary Enemy, Corruption would turn the Scale; wherefore they made the Earl a proffer of Mony, to oblige him not only to depart, but to deliver them the Town. The Earl perceiving there was no more Mony to be had from the *Luccheſi*, reſolved to accept it from thoſe who could give it, and therefore ſtruck a Bargain with the *Florentines* for 50000 Ducats, not to deliver up *Lucca*, which in Honour he could not do, but to leave it to its ſhifts as ſoon as the Mony ſhould be paid; and that the People of *Lucca* might excuſe him to the Duke for making this Agreement, he practiced with them the turning out their Lord. There was in *Lucca* (as hath been ſaid before) one Meſſer *Antonio Roſſo*, Ambaſſadour from *Siena:* He, by Authority from the Earl, contrive[illegible]ith the Citizens, the ruine of *Pagolo*, or *Paul:* The Chief of the Conſpirators were *Peter Cennami*, and *John Chivizano.* The Earl lay encamped without the Town by the River *Serchio*, and with him *Lanzilaus*, Son of *Paul Guinigi*, Lord of *Lucca:* ſo the Conſpirators, to the number of Forty well Armed, went by Night to *Paul*, who ſtartling at their ſudden

The Lord of *Lucca* depoſed.

den intruſion, demanded the cauſe of their coming; to which *Peter Cennami* replyed, That they had ſo long been Governed by him till they were begirt with Enemies, and in a fair way to periſh, either by Sword or Famine, wherefore they were reſolved to Govern themſelves for the future, and came now to demand the Keys and Treaſure of the City. To which *Paul* made Anſwer, That the Treaſure was ſpent, but both the Keys and himſelf were at their devotion; only Requeſting, That ſince his Government had begun and continued without Blood, ſo without Blood, by their favour, it might end. *Paul* and his Son were, by Earl *Sforza*, carried to the Duke, where they afterwards died in Priſon. The Earls Departure delivered the *Luccheſes* from the Tyrant, and the *Florentines* from the fear of his Forces: ſo thoſe made preparations of Defence, and theſe returned to offend, having Commiſſionated the Earl of *Urbin* their General, who ſo ſtraitly beſieged the City, that the *Luccheſi* were again neceſſitated to have recourſe to the Duke for Aſſiſtance, and he under the ſame pretences he had before ſent *Sforza*, now ſends *Nicholas Piccinino* to relieve them: Who endeavouring to enter *Lucca*, was by our Men encountred on a paſs of the River *Serchio*, where our People were routed, the General, and ſome few more ſaving themſelves at *Piſa*. This Defeat afflicted the whole City; and becauſe the expedition was made by General conſent, the people

ple not knowing well where to lay the blame, charged all the fault upon thoſe that had the Management of the War, ſince they could not charge thoſe who had been the deviſers of it, and the former Accuſations againſt *Rinaldo* were revived. But moſt of all they loaded *John Guiccardine*, charging him, that he might, if he had pleaſed, have ended the War after *Sforza*'s departure, but that he was corrupted with Mony, of which a great ſum he had ſent home, offering to produce who had brought it, and who received it. Theſe Rumours and Accuſations grew ſo high, that the Captain of the People moved by the Publick cry, and the Clamour of the contrary faction, Cited him; Meſſer *John*, full of indignation, appeared, but his Friends for their own Honour ſake, laboured ſo earneſtly in the matter, that the Captain did not proceed. The *Lucheſi* after this Victory, not only regained all their own Towns, but ſurprized all thoſe belonging to the Territory of *Piſa*, except *Bientina*, *Calcinaia*, *Leghorn*, and *Librafatta*, and had not the Plot in *Piſa* been diſcovered, that City had likewiſe been loſt. The *Florentines* recruting their Army made *Michaletto*, who had been trained up under *Sforſa*, General. On the other ſide the Duke cloſely purſued the advantage, and the more ſenſibly to afflict the *Florentines*, united the *Genoveſe*, thoſe of *Siena* and the Lord of *Piombino*, in a league for the defence of *Lucca*, making them entertain *Nicholas Piccinino*

cinino for Generall of the league; by which meanes all the whole intregue was diſcovered, and the *Florentines* and *Venetians* renewing their antient Alliance, open War was made in *Lombardy* and *Toſcany*, and in each Province ſundry fights enſued with Various ſucceſs: Till all Parties wearied out, in *May* 1433 a General Peace was concluded; by which the *Florentines*, thoſe of *Lucca* and *Siena*, who during this War had ſeized ſeveral Caſtles one of the others, made reciprocal Reſtitution: And each contented themſelves with their own poſſeſſions. Whilſt this War was on foot, the Malignant humours of the Factions in the City got head, and *Coſmo de Medici* after the death of *John* his Father, managed the Concerns of the Common-wealth with more addreſs and care of the publick, and with more freedom and liberality towards his Friends, than his father had done before him; inſomuch that thoſe which rejoyced at the death of *John*, now ſeeing the management of *Coſmo*, were ſorry: *Coſmo* was a man of Excellent Prudence; of a grave and gracious Aſpect; extreamly liberal, and infinitely Courteous; and who never attempted any thing againſt any of the Factions, or againſt the State; but ſtrove to oblige all the World, and by his Liberality gain the good-will of the Citizens. So that his Virtues ſeem'd to caſt a ſhadow upon thoſe that governed; and himſelf beleived he might by this meanes live in *Florence*

The *Venetians* and *Florentines* joyned.

1433.

in

in ſufficient power and Security; or if the Malice of his Adverſaries ſhould in any extraordinary manner oppoſe him, he might by the Number and Strength of his Friends oppreſs them. The main inſtruments to form his Greatneſs were *Averardo de Medici*, and *Puccio Pucci*: *Averardo* with his Courage, and *Puccio* with his Counſel ſupporting and enlarging his Reputation and Renown. And in ſuch Eſteem was *Puccio*'s Wiſdom and Counſel, and ſo well Known, That the Faction was not called by *Coſmo*'s Name, but *Puccio*'s. By a City thus divided was the expedition of *Lucca* made, and by it the Contentions were rather enflamed than quenched; And although *Coſmo*'s Party were the chief Counſellors of it, yet more of the contrary Party had Command of the Army, as being of greater Reputation in the ſtate: which ſince *Everard de Medici* and the reſt could not remedy, they ſtrove, all they could, to calumniate them; and if any loſs happened (as many did) they imputed it not either to the good Fortune, Courage, or Conduct of the Enemy; but to the want of Diſcretion and Prudence in their own Officers. Thus the lapſes of *Aſtorre Gianni* became aggravated: Thus was *Rinaldo de Albizi*'s Patience overborn, and he in a Paſſion made return, laying down his Commiſſion without leave; and Thus was the delivery of *John Guiccardine* demanded from the Captain of the people; and thus all the blame Charged either upon

the

the Magiſtrates, or Miniſters of War, had its original; for where the Accuſation was true, it ſpread of its ſelf, and where it was invented, art was added; and whether true or falſe, it was by the people who hated them, believed. Theſe new and extraordinary waies of proceeding were very well known to *Nicholas de Vzano* and the Cheif of his Party, and many times had they conſulted a Remedy, but could conclude on none; for to give way to it they perceived was dangerous, and to put any violent Stop to it, more difficult, but *Nicholas de Vzano* was the firſt who expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt theſe ſtrange proceedings. And in the heat of War abroad, and their Diſorders at home, *Nicholas Barbadori* endeavouring to diſpoſe *Nicholas de Vzano* to the ruin of *Coſmo*, went one day to his Houſe, where finding him alone, and in a profound ſtudy, he endeavoured by all the weighty Arguments he could invent, to perſwade him to conſent with *Rinaldo* to drive *Coſmo* out of the City, to whom *Nicholas Vzano* made this Reply: *In my Judgment, it were better for thee, thy Family, and all that joyn with thee in this Opinion, that they had Beards of Silver than of Gold, as thou art ſaid to have; for then their Advice, proceeding from hoary and experienced Heads, would be more judicious and profitable. I am of the mind, that thoſe who deſire to baniſh* Coſmo *out of* Florence, *ſhould firſt of all weigh and meaſure their Power with his. The Party ſiding with*

The ruine of *Coſmo de Medici* perſwaded.

with us you have named the Party of the Nobles, and that oppoſing it the Faction of the Plebeians: *were the Truth correſpondent to the Name, yet would the Succeſs be in all points doubtful, and we have more Reaſons to fear than hope, taught by the Example of the Ancient Nobility, whom the* Plebeians *have quite rooted out; but we have much more cauſe to fear, our Party being divided, and theirs entire. In the firſt place,* Neri di Gino, *and* Nerone di Nigi, *two prime Citizens, have never yet declared themſelves ſo, that we can well determine whether they are more our Friends, or theirs: There are many Families, and many Houſes divided; for many out of Envy to their very Brethren and Relations disfavour us and ſide with them. Let me only put you in mind of ſome of the Chief, and the reſt gueſs at your ſelf; of the Sons of Meſſer* Maſo de Albizi, Luke, *out of envy to* Rinaldo, *has joyned himſelf to their Party. In the Family of the* Guiccardines, *and among the Children of* Lewis, Peter *is an enemy to* John, *and favours our Adverſaries.* Thomas *and* Nicholas Soderini, *for the Hate they bare their Uncle* Francis, *do openly oppoſe us: So, that if it be well conſidered, what they, and what we are, I ſee not any reaſon why our Party ſhould be ſtiled Noble more than theirs, unleſs, becauſe they are univerſally followed by the* Plebeians, *which makes the worſe for us, and the better for them; we upon any occaſion of diſputing it by Arms being too weak to reſiſt them. And if we ſtand*

upon

upon our Dignity, that, from the Ancient Reputation of the State had its original, and continuation for theſe fifty years; but when it comes to the proof, and our weakneſs is diſcovered, we ſhall ſoon loſe all: Or, if you think that the juſt occaſion prompting us to it will gain us Credit, and them Diſrepute; I Anſwer, That juſtice of our Cauſe muſt then be underſtood by others as well as our ſelves, which happens quite contrary; for the Occaſion moving us is founded on a ſuſpicion, leaſt he ſhould make himſelf Prince of this City; but though we ſuſpect it, others will not, nay which is worſe, they accuſe us of what we accuſe him. The things which chiefly render Coſmo ſuſpected, are, becauſe he employs his Mony to ſerve all mens Occaſions, not only publick Perſons, but private; not only Florentines, but Forreigners: becauſe he favours this, and that other Citizen, who ſtand for the Magiſtracy; and becauſe, by his credit with the Multitude, he advances this and that other Friend to greater degrees of Honour. Tell me therefore the Reaſons why you would have him Baniſhed; is it becauſe he is Charitable, Friendly, Liberal, and beloved? Pray, what Law prohibits, blames, or condemns men for Charity, Liberality and Love? And though all men aſpiring to Principality, uſually tread theſe paths, yet they are not thought to do ſo; nor can we force it into mens belief: for our proceedings have debauched our Credit, and this City foſtered in Diviſion, and the Citizens uſed to live in Parties, and Faction, are grown

ſo Corrupt, they will never give faith to ſuch Accuſations. But, ſuppoſe we ſhould attain our deſires of Expelling him (which, having Senate for the purpoſe, may eaſily be effected yet how can you deviſe to oppoſe his return whilſt he has ſo many Friends remaining, wh will be zealous for it? 'Twould be impoſſible, his Friends being numerous, and he ſo univerſally beloved; and the more of his Friends you labour to Baniſh, the more Enemies you contract to your ſelves; ſo that Return in a ſhort time he will, and all the gain will be this, That you baniſhed a Good man, and have an evil one returned you; for his Nature will be corrupted by thoſe who labour his Revocation, whom he cannot contradict: And, if you deſign his death by order of the Magiſtracy you will never procure it; for his Mony, and our own corrupt Natures, would certainly ſave him: But ſuppoſe him Dead, or Baniſhed; ſo that he can no more Return; I cannot perceive the advantage would thereby accrue to our Commonwealth; for by being freed from Coſmo *it will be enſlaved to* Rinaldo, *and for my part, though I could wiſh no Citizen ſuperiour to another in Power and Authority: Yet, if one of theſe muſt prevail, there is ſome ſecret Reaſon perſwades me to love* Rinaldo *better than* Coſmo. *I ſay no more, but God defend that any Citizen ſhould uſurp a Principality over us; yet if our ſins have deſerved ſuch a Plague, of all men living I would not obey him. I do not therefore perſwade an Attempt any way hazardous, nor believe that the Combination*

of

of a few can withſtand the will of many: for the Multitude, partly through Ignorance, and partly through Malice, are all ready to ſell the Commonwealth; and Fortune is ſo kind to them they have already found a Chapman. Let my Counſel therefore prevail, live modeſtly and you will ſoon obſerve, as to the Liberty of the City ſome of our Party ought to be ſuſpected as well as the other; and if any Troubles ariſe, living in an eaſie Neutrality, you will be grateful to all, and ſo may be helpful to your ſelf, and not hurtful to your Country. Theſe Words ſomewhat appeaſed *Barbadoro*'s mind, and the City continued quiet during the *Luccheſe* War. But Peace being concluded, and with it happening the death of *Nicholas Uzzano*, the City having ſlipt off the bridle of War, had no Reins to Govern it, but run madly on to Fury and Diſorder: For *Rinaldo* remaining now the ſole Head of his Faction, inceſſantly intreated and perſwaded all thoſe Citizens of Quality, whom he thought likely to be made *Gonfalonieri*, to Arm themſelves for the Defence of their Country againſt a Man, who by reaſon of the Malice of ſome, and Ignorance of others, muſt of neceſſity reduce them into ſlavery. Theſe proceedings of *Rinaldo*'s, and the oppoſitions made by the adverſe Party, raiſed fears and Jealouſies in the City: at the Creating of every Magiſtracy they publickly diſcourſed how many of one Party, and how many of the other ſat; and at the Election of

Senators the whole City was in Uproar; every Cauſe of the ſlighteſt moment, that came before the Magiſtrates to be decided, begot a Tumult; Cabinet Counſels were divulged; Good and bad men favoured, and diſfavoured; and both ſorts equally tormented and moleſted. Whilſt *Florence* was in this Confuſion, and *Rinaldo* zealous to ſuppreſs the Greatneſs of *Coſmo*, he knowing that *Bernardo Guadagno* was likely to be Elected *Gonfaloniere*, pays his Debts, leaſt the Mony he owed the Publick ſhould be an obſtacle to his arrival at that Dignity. And it came to paſs at the drawing the Lots, that (Fortune favouring our Diſorders) *Bernardo* was elected *Gonfaloniere*, to officiate during the Months of *September* and *October*: Whom, Meſſer *Rinaldo* preſently went to wait upon, Repreſenting to him, "How many, on the Party "of the Nobles, and even all that deſired "to live well, rejoyced at his advancement "to that Dignity; and therefore it was "his part to take care they ſhould not re"joyce in vain: laying before him the "dangers attended on Diſcord, and how "there was no other way to unite the "City but by expelling *Coſmo*; Who, with "the general Love his exceſſive Riches had "gained him, kept others weak, and was "grown to that height, that if ſudden pro"viſion were not made, he would aſpire "to the Principality. 'Twas therefore his "duty, like a good Citizen, to apply a "ſpeedy

Confuſion in *Florence*.

"ſpeedy Remedy by calling the people into "the *Piazza*, reſuming the Government, "and reſtoring the City to her Liberty; Remembring him, "How *Silveſter Medici* "did, without Juſtice, bridle the power of "the *Guelphs*, to whom a Right of Go- "vernment (for the Blood of their Ance- "ſtors, ſhed in defence of it) belonged; "and what he unjuſtly did againſt ſo many, "vvhy ſhould he now fear to act juſtly "againſt one? Exhorting him not to be a- "fraid, for their Friends with their Arms, "vvould be ready to aſſiſt him: Nor vvas "any account to be made of the Multi- "tude that adored him, whoſe Favour "vvould prove as defective to him as it "had done to *George Scali*; nor ſhould "he be awed by his Riches, which, were "he once in the Senates power, would be "Theirs: Concluding, that this Action "vvould both quiet the State, and make "him famous. To all which perſwaſions *Bernardo* briefly Anſwered; "That he "thought what he propoſed neceſſary, and "becauſe the time vvas not to be ſpent in "Words but Actions, he would preſently "prepare his Forces to be ready, ſo ſoon as "his Companions were perſwaded to it. As ſoon as *Bernardo* was entred into the Magiſtracy, his Friends all diſpoſed and agreed with *Rinaldo's*, he Cited *Coſmo*, who (though by many otherwiſe adviſed) appears, relying more on his own Innocency, than the Favour or Mercy of the Senate.

Coſmo de Medici Cited and Committed.

As ſoon as *Coſmo* was entred the Palace, and Arreſted, *Rinaldo*, with many Armed men, ſallies out of his Houſe, and joyning vvith the reſt of the Faction, comes into the *Piazza*, vvhither the Senate ſummoned the People, and created a *Balia* of Two hundred men to reform the Government of the City; this *Balia*, as expeditiouſly as they could, began to Treat of the Reformation of the State, and of the Life and Death of *Coſmo*. Many vvould have him Baniſhed; ſome vvould have him put to Death, and others ſaid nothing, either out of Compaſſion to him, or fear of themſelves: ſo this diverſity of Opinions produced no reſult. In the Tower of the Palace is a cloſe ſtrong Room, called the *Alberghettino*; There *Coſmo* was kept Priſoner under the Guard of *Frederick Malavolti*; from vvhich place *Coſmo* hearing their Talk, and the noiſe of Armed Men in the *Piazza*, and the often ſounding to the *Balia*, ſtood in fear of his Life; but vvas moſt of all jealous, leaſt his Enemies ſhould, by ſome extraordinary vvay, deprive him of it; which made him abſtain from all Meats, ſo that in four daies he had taſted nothing but a little Bread; which *Frederick* taking notice of, ſaid to him: "*Coſmo*, I ſee you "are afraid of being poiſoned; but you "wrong my Honour by imagining I would "have a hand in ſuch a wickedneſs. I "cannot believe your Life in any danger, "having ſo many Friends in the Palace,

"and

"and abroad: But, if they have a deſign "that you ſhall die, be aſſured they muſt "make choice of other Miniſters to execute "it; for I will not imbrue my hands in "the Blood of any man, much leſs yours "who never injured me; be therefore of "good Chear, and fall to your Meat, and "preſerve your life to the comfort of your "Friends and Country: And to give you "more confidence to do it, I will my ſelf "firſt eat of whatever is ſet before you. Theſe vvords extreamly comforted *Coſmo*, and, with tears in his Eyes, he kiſt and embraced *Frederick*, and with kind and obliging words returned him thanks for ſo compaſſionate and friendly an Office, promiſing to give teſtimonies of his Gratitude, whenever Fortune ſhould give him an opportunity. *Coſmo* thus put in heart, whilſt the Citizens were debating his diſpoſure, it happened that *Frederick*, to make him ſomewhat the pleaſanter, brought along to Supper with him a familiar Friend of the *Gonfaloniers*, called *Fargannacio*, a man made for Wit and divertiſement. Supper being almoſt ended, *Coſmo* having conceived that this man might do him ſome ſervice (for he was well acquainted with him) beckned to *Frederick* to withdraw, who underſtanding the ſign, pretending to fetch ſomething wanting at Supper, went out and left them alone: *Coſmo* after ſome kind and obliging vvords to *Fargannacio*, gave him a Token, and injoyned him to

go to the Hoſpital of Sancta *Maria Nuova* for Eleven hundred Ducats, a hundred of which he ſhould keep for his own uſe, and the thouſand deliver to the *Gonfaloniere*; withal deſiring him to make ſome plauſible pretence to come and ſpeak with him. He accepts the Commiſſion, the Monies were paid, and *Bernardo* mollified, ſo that *Coſmo* was only confined to *Padona*, contrary to the intentions of *Rinaldo*, who ſought his Life. *Everard*, and many others of the Houſe of *Medici*, with *John*, and *Puccio Pucci* were likewiſe Baniſhed; and to terrifie thoſe that were diſſatisfied with *Coſmo*'s Baniſhment, they gave the *Balia* to Eight of the Guard, and to the Captain of the People. After which Determinations, on the third of *October* 1433, *Coſmo* was brought before the *Lords*, where the Sentence of his Confinement was pronounced, and he counſelled to ſubmit to it, leaſt they ſhould be forced to proceed with greater ſeverity againſt both his Perſon and Goods. *Coſmo* with a chearful Countenance received his Sentence, aſſuring them that whitherſoever their Lordſhips thought fit to ſend him he ſhould be vvilling to go; but beſought them ſince they had ſaved his life, they would pleaſe likewiſe to defend it; becauſe he underſtood many of his enemies did, in the *Piazza*, lie in wait for his blood; aſſuring them, that wherever he was, He and his Subſtance ſhould ever be at the Command of the City, the People, and their Lord-

Coſmo de Medici Confined to *Padona*.

Lordſhips: Hereupon the *Gonfaloniere* comforted him, and kept him in the Palace till night, and then conducting him to his Houſe, after Supper, gave him a ſtrong Guard to accompany him to the Confines. *Coſmo*, wherever he paſſed, was honourably received and publickly viſited by the *Venetians* not like a baniſhed Man, but like one in Supream Authority. *Florence* thus rob'd of ſo worthy a Citizen, ſo Univerſally beloved, every one was diſmayed, and as well the Victors, as the Conquered, ſeemed tertified. Inſomuch that *Rinaldo*, doubtful of his future Misfortune, that he might not be wanting to himſelf and his Faction, having aſſembled many Citizens, his Friends, told them: *That he now beheld their Ruin approaching; for having ſuffered themſelves, by their enemies Prayers, Tears and Mony to be Vanquiſhed, not conſidering that themſelves ſhould ere long be forced to entreat and weep, whilſt none heard their Prayers, nor had compaſſion of their Tears, and that the mony given muſt be repaid with Exile, torments and death, inſtead of Uſury: For it had been better for them to have been dead, than to leave* Coſmo *alive, or ſuffer a Friend of his in* Florence; *For great Perſons ſhould never be toucht, or if they be, put paſt Revenge. There was now therefore no remedy left but to fortifie themſelves in the City, that if the reſentments of their Enemies ſhould break forth (as ſoon they would) they might oppreſs them by Arms, ſince by Law and*

and order they could not Curb or reſtrain them, and that the Remedy was the ſame now, which had long ſince been remembred; to wit, to regain the great men, by reſtoring them to all Honours in the City, and ſtrengthning themſelves with that Party, ſince their Enemies had Fortified themſelves with the Plebeians: *that by this meanes their Party would be encouraged, having ſuch an addition of Force, Virtue, Valour, and Credit: affirming, if they Neglected this only true and ultimate remedy; he could diſcover no way how to ſecure the State amidſt ſo many Enemies, but beheld the approaching ruin of their Party, and the whole City.* To which *Mariotto Baldavinetti*, one of the Company, oppoſed himſelf; Declaring, *That the Pride and haughty nature of the Grandees was inſupportable, and that it was madneſs to have recourſe to a certain Tyranny to eſcape a doubtful danger from the* Plebeians. So that Meſſer *Rinaldo* ſeeing his Counſels ſlighted, lamented his, and his Friends Misfortune, attributing this averſeneſs rather to Providence that would have it ſo, than to the ignorance and blindneſs of Men. Whilſt things ſtood in this poſture, and no neceſſary proviſion made, a Letter was found written by Meſſer *Agnolo Acciaivolo* to *Coſmo*, adviſing him of the Cities good inclinations towards him, and encouraging him to move a War, and make *Neri Gini* his Friend: For he judged the City wanted Mony, which not knowing how to ſupply otherways, his memory, and

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the ardent desire of his return would be revived among the Citizens: and if *Neri* were drawn off from *Rinaldo*, his Party would be too weak to defend themselves. This letter coming to the Magistrates hands was the occasion that Messer *Agnolo* was taken, sequestred, and banished: yet this example curbed not at all the Favourers of *Cosmo*. The year had now almost gone its round since *Cosmo*'s Banishment, when, about *August* 1434, *Nicholas de Cocco* was chosen *Gonfaloniere* for the two ensuing months, and with him eight Senators, all of *Cosmo*'s Party, so that such a Signory might well affright *Rinaldo* and his whole Party: And because it is Customary, that the Lords elected, before they enter upon the Magistracy, are three daies private, *Rinaldo* summons again the heads of his Party, and declares to them the approaching danger, and that there was no remedy but taking Armes, and causing *Donato Velluti*, who yet sat as *Gonfaloniere*, to assemble the people in the *Piazza*, establish a *Ballia* to remove the new Lords from their Magistracy, and create other fit for their own purpose; and burning the Old Purses make new Imborsations, filled with the Names of their Friends. This devise was by many thought both requisite and safe, others judged it much too violent and dangerous, and among those that opposed it was Mr. *Palla Strozzi*, who was a quiet Man, Civil, Courteous, and apter for study than to encounter Faction,

or

or quell civil Diſcords; who therefore Argued, *That all attempts, whether guided by Policy or Valour, ſeem in their beginnings eaſie, but in the proceſs prove difficult, and in the end dangerous; That he believed the fear of an approaching War from abroad (the Duke of* Romania *being with an Army on our confines) would make the Lords mind their Defence, rather than inteſtine Diſcords: yet if they would change Affairs (which could not be done but they muſt know it) it would then be time to take Arms, and execute what was thought neceſſary for the publick ſafety. Which when they were forced to, would create leſs wonder in the People, and leſs reproach to themſelves.* It was therefore concluded that the new Lords ſhould enter, and their proceedings be diligently watched; and if they attempted any thing contrary to the faction, every one ſhould take Arms and Aſſemble at St. *Pulinare* (a place nigh the Palace) whence they might proceed to act what ſhould be judged neceſſary. Concluding upon this, every man returned home, and the New Senators entred upon the Magiſtracy, and the *Gonfaloniere*, to gain himſelf Reputation, and terrifie the adverſe Party, committed to priſon *Donato Velluti* his predeceſſor, for having miſemployed the publick Treaſure: and then ſounded the minds of his Companions about *Coſmo*'s return, whom finding diſpoſed, he conſults with the cheifes of the *Medici*'s Party, and encouraged by them,

Cites

Cites Meſſer *Rinaldo*, *Ridolfo Perruzzi* and *Nicholas Barbadori* Principals of the oppoſite Faction. Upon which Citation, *Rinaldo* thought it no longer fit to protract time, but ſallying from his houſe with a great Number of Armed followers was preſently joyned, by *Ridolfo Peruzzi* and *Nicholas Barbadori*, with whom were many Citizens, and many Souldiers, which happened at that time to be in *Florence*, and out of pay; all which reſorted according to the former agreement to the place of St. *Pulinare*: Meſſer *Palla Strozzi*, though he had aſſembled a great force, ſtaid within his houſe, and the like did Meſſer *John Guiccardine*, whereupon *Rinaldo* ſent to urge them, and reprove their delay. *John* made anſwer, That he waged as he thought ſufficient War againſt the enemy, if by ſtaying at home he hindred his brother *Peters* ſallying forth to reſcue the Palace. *Palla* after many meſſages came to St. *Pulinare* on horſe-back, unarmed, and attended only by two foot-men; whom *Rinaldo* going to meet, fiercely reproved for his negligence; telling him, "*That his not aſſembling with the reſt proceeded from his want of Faith, or Courage, both blameworthy in any one who would be thought a Perſon of Honour, and if he vainly believed that for not doing his Duty, the Enemy would upon Victory pardon him either life or Baniſhment, he was deceived. As for his part, if any Siniſter accident hapned, he ſhould have this ſatisfaction, That as he had not been wanting*

Rinaldo takes Arms againſt the Senate.

wanting in Council before the danger, ſo he did not want Courage in the midſt of it; but as for him and the reſt, their Diſcontents would be aggravated with the Conſciouſneſs of having thrice betrayed their Country: firſt, when they ſaved Coſmo's *life; then, when they ſlighted his Counſels; and laſtly, now refuſing to aſſiſt him with their Arms.* To all which, *Palla* replyed not a word that was heard by the ſtanders by, but murmuring, turned his Horſe and returned home. The Senate hearing Meſſer *Rinaldo* and his Party had taken Arms, and ſeeing themſelves forſaken, ſhut the Palace Gates, and void of Counſel knew not what courſe to take. But Meſſer *Rinaldo* delaying his going into the *Piazza*, expecting thoſe Forces that came not, loſt his opportunity of Victory, and gave heart to the Senators to make proviſion for their ſafety, and to many Citizens to go in to them to Adviſe how matters ſtood, and how things might be appeaſed. Then ſome Friends of the Senates, whom *Rinaldo* had leaſt in ſuſpicion, went to him, and told him, *That the Senate knew not the Reaſon of theſe Commotions, nor could imagine how they had offended him, or if it were for* Coſmo's *ſake, there was no intention of recalling him; but if that were their Jealouſie, they might be aſſured of the contrary; and if they would freely come to the Palace they ſhould be welcome, and have all their Demands ſatisfied.* Theſe words could not change *Rinaldo*'s Reſolution; who Replied,

That

That he would ſecure himſelf, by making the Senate private Men, and then reform the State to every ones content. But it alwaies happens, That where Authority is equal, Opinions are various, and ſeldom any thing well reſolved. *Ridolfo Peruzzi*, moved with the words of thoſe Citizens, ſaid, *That, for his part, he deſired nothing but that* Coſmo *ſhould no more Return, and the grant of that, he thought Victory ſufficient, nor deſired he, out of hopes of gaining more, to fill the City with Blood, but would obey the Senate; and thereupon, with his people, went to the Palace where he was joyfully received.* Thus *Rinaldo*'s ſtaying at St. *Pulinare*, the Cowardize of *Palla*, and the departure of *Ridolpho*, had deprived their Party of the Victory; and the hearts of the Citizens following *Rinaldo*, began to grow cold and faint, to which the Authority of the Pope contributed. Pope *Eugenius*, who had been expelled by the people of *Rome*, was now in *Florence*, and hearing of theſe Tumults, thought it his duty to endeavour to appeaſe them; to which end he ſends the Patriarch, *John Vitelleſchi*, an intimate Friend of *Rinaldo*'s, to deſire him to come to him, not doubting but he had Credit and Authority ſufficient with the Senate, to content and ſecure him without Blood, or Damage to his Citizens. *Rinaldo* perſwaded by his Friend, with all his Armed followers goes to St. *Maria Novella*, where the Pope reſided. *Eugenius* declares to him the power the Senate had com-

The Pope endeavours to appeaſe the Tumults.

committed to him to determine all Controverſies, which on condition he would lay down Arms, ſhould be done to his full ſatisfaction, *Rinaldo* having made proof of the coldneſs of *Palla* and the inconſtancy of *Ridolfo Peruzzi*, deſpairing of better Terms yeilded himſelf into the Popes hands, not doubting but his Authority would ſecure him; whereupon the *Pope* preſently ſignified to *Nicholas Barbadori*, and the reſt who ſtayed for him without, that they ſhould lay down their Armes; for Meſſer *Rinaldo* relied upon the Pope to make an Agreement with the Senate: and at firſt word they all obeyed, and disbanded; the Senators ſeeing their Adverſaries diſarmed, applyed themſelves to an agreement, by the Popes intermiſſion, but privily ſent away to the rock of *Piſtoia* for ſome Companies of foot, which with all their men at Arms they by night brought into *Florence*, and ſeizing all the ſtrong places of the City, ſummoned the people into the *Piazza*, and created a new *Balia*, who as ſoon as they Aſſembled, reſtored *Coſmo* to his Country, with all thoſe that were confined, and on the adverſe Party baniſhed *Rinaldo de Albizi*, *Ridolfo Perruzzi*, *Nicholas Barbadoro*, and *Palla Strozzi*, with many other Citizens, in ſuch vaſt numbers, that there were few Towns in *Italy* to which ſome were not confined, and many places out of *Italy* were filled with them. By which accident *Florence* was not only much diſ-peopled but rob'd of it's riches

Coſmo reſtored and *Rinaldo* with others Baniſhed.

riches and Induſtry. The Pope ſeeing the ruin of thoſe men who at his deſire had laid down Arms, was extreamly diſcontented; and condoled with *Rinaldo* for the wrong done him under his Faith and Credit, exhorting him to patience and by ſome happy change to hope for better Fortune: To which *Rinaldo* anſwered: *The want of Credit in thoſe which ſhould have believed Me, and my too eaſy reliance on you, hath ruined me and my Party; but I have moſt reaſon to blame my ſelf that could imagine that you who were driven out of your own Country, could ſecure me in mine. I have had ſufficient experience of the Dalliances of Fortune, and having never confided in proſperity, am leſs afflicted at Adverſity; Knowing well, that fortune when ſhe pleaſes may again favour me. But If ſhe never do, I ſhall not be over-fond of living in that City, where Faction overrules the Laws; for that Country is only deſirable where men may peacably enjoy their Friends and Eſtates, and not that where a man may be eaſily deprived of the latter; and the firſt, for fear of hazarding their own, in his greateſt Neceſſity forſake him; for to the Wiſe it is leſs grievous to hear of the Miſeries of their Country, than behold them with their Eyes; and more glorious to be accounted an honourable Rebel, than a ſlaviſh Citizen.* So taking leave of the Pope full of Indignation, and blaming often his own Councils, and the coldneſs of his Friends, he went into Baniſhment. On the other ſide,

Coſmo having Intelligence of his Revocation returned to *Florence*. Seldome has any Citizen, returning Triumphant after Victory, been received with ſuch a Concourſe of People, ſuch acclamations of Joy, and ſuch demonſtration of an univerſal Affection, as He was upon his return from Baniſhment; the Citizens voluntarily ſaluting him with the Titles of *The Peoples Benefactor*; and, *The Father of his Country*.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE

THE *FLORENTINE* HISTORY,

Written by

Nicholas Machiavel.

BOOK V.

PRovinces, in their Change of Government, for the moſt part run from order to diſorder, and from diſorder to order again; for conſtancy being by nature denied to ſublunary things, as ſoon as they are mounted to a height of perfection, they muſt of force deſcend; and being fallen into diſorder, and thereby come to their utmoſt declination, they muſt by the ſame neceſſity (ſince they can fall no farther) riſe: Thus ever from good there is a deſcent to evil, and from evil an aſcent to good; for Virtue begets

quiet, Quiet idleneſs, Idleneſs diſorder, and Diſorder ruine; in like manner Ruine produces order, Order virtue, and Virtue glory with good fortune. Whence the prudent have obſerved, That Learning follows Arms, and in all Cities and Countries Captains were before Philoſophers: for virtuous and well governed Arms having obtained Victory, and Victory produced quiet, the fortitude of active minds cannot be corrupted by any more juſtifiable Idleneſs than the ſtudy of Letters, nor can Idleneſs with any ſo fair and ſpecious pretence, creep into a well inſtituted Commonwealth. Which *Cato* (at the time *Diogenes* and *Carneades* came Ambaſſadors from *Athens* to the Senate of *Rome*) was perfectly ſenſible of; for ſeeing the Youth begin to follow them with great admiration, and perceiving the miſchiefs might, by that honeſt Idleneſs, reſult to his Country, he cauſed it to be enacted, that hereafter no Philoſophers ſhould be received in *Rome*. And indeed, by theſe means are many Countries brought to ruine, till men grown weary of deſtroying one another, return (as has been ſaid) to order; unleſs by ſome extraordinary force they are made utterly uncapable of it. Theſe Occaſions, firſt by the means of the Ancient *Tuſcans*, and afterwards of the *Romans* made *Italy* ſometimes happy, and ſometimes miſerable. And though, on the ruines of *Rome*, nothing has been founded adequate to its glory (which poſſibly under ſome gal-

lant

lant Prince might have been effected) yet ſo much Virtue is revived in ſome of the New Cities, and New Governments that aroſe out of the *Roman* ruines, that though one has not attained the Command of the reſt, yet they were ſo well united and linked together, that they were able to defend and free themſelves from the incurſions of Barbarous people. Among which, the *Florentines*, though not of any extent in Dominion, were as large as any in power; for being ſeated in the midſt of *Italy*, rich and ready to offend, they either ſucceſsfully ſuſtained the Wars made againſt them, or brought Victory to that Party with whom they ſided. From this Virtue in theſe New Principalities it proceeded, that though they never enjoyed any long time of quiet, yet the War was never very dangerous or terrible; for as it cannot be termed Peace, where Provinces are almoſt continually with Arms aſſaulting one another, ſo that cannot properly be called War, where the ſlaughter of Men, ſacking of Cities, and ruine of Governments does not attend. And aſſuredly the Wars of theſe times were ſo weak and faint, that they were begun without fear, continued without danger, and ended without loſs: ſo that that Virtue which long and lazy Peace uſed to extinguiſh in other Countries, became by the Cowardize of their own Arms extinct in *Italy*, as will plainly appear by what we ſhall now ſet down, from the Year 1434 to

1496: Whereby it may be ſeen how, in the Concluſion, the Fences were again broken down for ſtrangers to enter at, and *Italy* became ſubject to them. And though the Actions of our Princes abroad, and at home, may not perhaps, for their glory and greatneſs, deſerve to be read with that admiration due to the Ancients, yet poſſibly for ſome other quality they may merit to be conſidered with no leſs wonder; ſeeing ſo many brave and Noble people, by a few (and thoſe ill diſciplined) Souldiers kept in awe; and though, in the deſcription of things in theſe decayed and corrupt times, you may find no relation of any Valour in Souldiers, Conduct in Generals, or love of their Country in Citizens; yet you may diſcover with what cunning, craft and policy, Princes, Souldiers and heads of Commonwealths (to maintain a Reputation they had never deſerved) managed their Affairs; which poſſibly may be of no leſs advantage to Humane Society than the other; for as thoſe ſtir up noble minds to follow their Example, theſe will incenſe us againſt them, and provoke us to fly and eſchew them.

The Condition of *Italy*, 1433.

ITALY was, by thoſe which Governed it, reduced to ſuch Terms, that whenever upon the Reconciliation of any Princes or States a Peace was concluded, it was preſently again, by thoſe that had the Arms in their hands, diſturbed; ſo that no glory was gained by War, nor no quiet by Peace. Wherefore, no ſooner was the Peace concluded

cluded in 1433, between the Duke of *Milan* and the *League*, but the Souldiers, to keep themſelves in Exerciſe, turned their Arms upon the Church. There were at this time in *Italy* two ſorts of Souldiers; thoſe trained up under *Braccio*; and thoſe under *Sforza*: The laſt were commanded by the Earl *Francis*, Son of *Sforza*; and the firſt had *Nicholas Piccinino*, and *Nicholas Fortebrace* for their Leaders. And to theſe two Bodies almoſt all the reſt of the Souldiers of *Italy* united themſelves. Of theſe two, *Sforza*'s Diviſion had the greater Reputation, both becauſe of the Earls Valour, and of the Promiſe made him by the Duke of *Milan*, to give him *Bianca* his Natural Daughter in Marriage, the hopes of which Alliance added much to his eſteem. After the Peace of *Lombardy*, theſe two Armies (upon different occaſions) aſſaulted Pope *Eugenius*. *Fortibrace* moved to it out of the ancient Grudge born by *Braccio* to the Church, and *Sforza*, by his own Ambition; ſo that whilſt *Nicholas* aſſailed *Rome*, the Earl made himſelf Lord of *La Marca*: Whereupon, the *Romans*, to avoid the War, drove *Eugenius* out of *Rome*, who, with danger and difficulty eſcaped to *Florence*: where, conſidering the peril he was in, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by thoſe Princes, who before, ſo deſirous of Peace, would not for his ſake renew the War, agrees with the Earl, and grants him the Signory of *La Marca*; though the Earl to the injury of having

War made on the Pope by *Sforza*, and *Fortibrace*.

having ſeized on it, had added Reproaches, ſubſcribing his Letters to his Agents, for ſetting out the Land in *Latin* words, according to the *Italian* Cuſtome, *Ex Giri-falco noſtro, invito* Petro & Paulo. Nor was he content with the grant of the Land, but would be made *Gonfaloniere* of the Church; all which was conſented to, ſo much more fearful was *Eugenius* of a hazardous War than of a diſhonourable Peace. The Earl, thus become the Popes Friend, proſecuted *Nicholas Fortibrace*, and betwixt them, in the Territories of the Church, for ſeveral Months happened ſundry Accidents, more to the damage of the Pope and his Subjects, than of thoſe that made the War: Till at laſt, by the Mediation of the Duke of *Milan*, an Agreement by way of Truce was made between them, and both remained Princes in the Territories of the Church. This War thus quenched at *Rome*, was kindled afreſh in *Romania* by *Battiſta de Canneto*; he firſt murthering in *Bolonia* ſome of the Family of the *Grifoni*, then drove the Popes Governour, and other his Enemies out of the City: And, to hold that State by Force, craved Aid of *Philip*; whilſt, the Pope to revenge the Injury, demanded aſſiſtance of the *Venetians* and *Florentines*. Each Party had the deſired Aid given them, ſo that on a ſudden Two great Armies infeſted *Romania*. *Nicholas Piccinino*, was General for the Duke, and the *Venetian* and *Florentine* Forces were led by *Guatamelata*, and

The Pope makes peace with *Sforza*.

War in *Romania*.

and *Nicholas Tolentino*. Near *Imola* they came to a Battle, wherein the *Venetians* and *Florentines* were overthrown, and *Nicholas Tolentino* ſent priſoner to the Duke; where, either made away by Treachery, or o'repreſſed with Grief for his Misfortune; he ſoon after dyed. The Duke, after this Victory, either becauſe he was weakned by the former Wars, or imagining the Colleagues after ſuch an overthrow would be quiet, purſued his Fortune no farther, but gave the Pope and his Confederates time to unite themſelves: who choſe Earl *Francis* for their Captain, and made an attempt to drive *Fortibrace* out of the Church Territories, thereby, to put an end to that War they in the Popes favour begun. The *Romans* ſeeing now the Pope grown powerful, ſought his Friendſhip, and received a Governor from him. *Nicholas Fortibrace*, among other Towns, was in poſſeſſion of *Iboli*, *Monteſiaſconi*, the City of *Caſtello* and *Aſceci*. Into this laſt *Nicholas* (not able to keep the field) was fled, where the Earl beſieged him, and the Siege continuing ſomewhat long, (for *Nicholas* manfully defended himſelf) the Duke thought it neceſſary, either to hinder the League from obtaining this Victory, or to contrive matters ſo, that after it he might be in condition to defend himſelf; therefore, to make the Earl raiſe his Siege, he commands *Nicholas Piccinino* to march by the way of *Romania* into *Toſcany*; whereupon the Confederates judging it of greater

greater concern to defend *Toſcany* than take *Aſceſi*, commanded the Earl to ſtop *Nicholas*'s paſſage, who was already advanced with his Army to *Furli*: Whilſt the Earl, upon the receipt of his Orders, moves with his Army, and comes to *Ceſena*, leaving the Care of the War in *La Marca*, and of his own Eſtates, to his Brother *Lione*. Whilſt *Piccinino* thus ſought a paſſage, and the Earl to obſtruct it, *Nicholas Fortibrace* falls upon *Lione*, and to his great Renown takes him, plunders his Carriages, and purſuing his Victory, ſurprizes in an inſtant many Towns of *Romania*. This Misfortune much afflicted the Earl, who fearing to loſe his own Eſtates, leaves part of his Army to confront *Piccinino*, and with the remainder marches directly towards *Fortibrace*, fights and overcomes him. In this Battle *Fortibrace* was ſorely wounded and taken priſoner, and ſoon after, of his wounds, died. By this Victory the Pope was reſtored to all the Lands taken from him by *Nicholas Fortibrace*, and the Duke of *Milan*, reduced to Terms of demanding Peace; which, by the Mediation of *Nicholas d'Eſte*, Marquis of *Ferrara*, was concluded, and by it, all the Towns which the Duke poſſeſſed in *Romania* reſtored to the Church, and the Dukes Army withdrawn into *Lombardy*; ſo that *Battiſta Cannetto* (as generally happens to all thoſe who are ſupported in a Dominion by the Power or Valour of others) ſo ſoon as the Dukes Forces were retreated out

Fortibrace victorious, and vanquiſhed.

of

of *Romania* (his own ſtrength or courage being inſufficient to defend him) was forced to flie from *Bolonia*, and Meſſer *Antonio Bentivoglio*, Head of the contrary Party entred that City. All theſe things happened during the time of *Coſmo*'s Baniſhment. After whoſe return, thoſe who had recalled him, and divers other Citizens before injured, conſulted without any reſpect or reſerve, how to ſecure themſelves in the Government; for the Senate, which in the Months of *November* and *December* ſucceeded in the Magiſtracy, not ſatisfied with what their Predeceſſors had done in favour of their Party, prolonged and changed the Confinements of many, and Confined many others anew. Nor was the fullenneſs of the Factions ſo prejudicial to the Citizens as their Riches, Kindred, and private Friendſhips: So that had this preſcription been accompanied with Blood, it might have been compared to thoſe of *Octavius*, or *Sylla*; yet was it in ſome meaſure ſtained with Blood; for *Bernardo Guadagni* was Beheaded, and four Citizens more; among which were *Zanobi Belfratelli*, and *Coſmo Barbadori*, who having paſſed their Confines were taken at *Venice*; and the *Venetians* valuing more *Coſmo*'s friendſhip than their own Honour, had ſent them home Priſoners, where they were baſely put to death; which increaſed the Reputation of *Coſmo*'s Party, and ſtruck Terrour into their Enemies, conſidering that ſo potent a Commonwealth ſhould ſell

The numerous Proſcriptions of the *Florentines*.

their

their Liberty to the *Florentines*, which yet vvas thought to be done, not ſo much out of kindneſs to *Coſmo*, as to inflame the Spirits of the Factions, and make the Diviſion of the City, by means of the Blood thus ſhed, more implacable and deſtructive; for the *Venetians* foreſaw there could be no greater obſtacle of their greatneſs, than the union of our City. The City thus cleared of Enemies, and all that were but ſuſpected by the State, they applyed themſelves to ſhew their Kindneſs to a new ſort of People, the better to confirm their Party; reſtoring the Family of the *Alberti*, and all other the Rebels to their Country. All the Grandees, except a very few, were brought into the Orders of the People, and the Poſſeſſions of the later Rebels ſold amongſt them at ſmall prizes. Next, they ſtrengthened themſelves with New Ordinances, and made New Imborſations, taking out their Enemies Names, and filling the Purſes vvith their Friends. And vvarned by the Ruine of their Enemies, they thought it not enough to have the Purſes thus repleniſhed vvith Choice men; but to eſtabliſh their Government the firmer, they conſulted how to have the Magiſtrates, appointed for Life and Death, elected out of the Chiefs of their Party; and to that end required, that thoſe appointed to make the Imborſations, ſhould (together vvith the Old Senate) have authority to create the Nevv. They gave to the Eight of the Guard power of Life and Death;

New Ordinances in Florence.

Death; and enacted, that thoſe Confined, though their time were expired, ſhould not return, unleſs ¾ of the Senate and Colledge (which conſiſted but of 37) ſhould conſent to their Reſtitution; they prohibited all writing to, or receiving Letters from any in Exile. And every Word, Sign, or Action, at which thoſe in rule were pleaſed to take offence, were ſeverely puniſhed; and if there were any new ſuſpition ſtarted in *Florence*, which came not within the former bounds, it was by new mulcts or fines, by them impoſed, puniſhed, and thus having driven out or impoveriſhed all the adverſe party, they ſecured themſelves in the Government. And that they might not want aſſiſtance from abroad, but prevent thoſe who by Forreign force might deſign to offend them, they made defenſive leagues with the *Pope*, *Venetians*, and Duke of *Milan*. Things thus ſetled in *Florence*, *Joan* Qeen of *Naples* dies, and by her laſt will and Teſtament makes *Reyner* of *Anjou* heir of that Kingdom. *Alphonſo* King of *Arragon* was at the ſame time in *Sicily*, who confiding in the friendſhip of ſeveral *Neapolitan Barons*, makes preparation to poſſeſs himſelf of that Kingdom: but the *Neapolitans*, and many of the *Barons*, favoured *Reyner*. The Pope on the other ſide was unwilling to admit either *Reyner*, or *Alphonſo*, but would have it governed by his Lieutenant: yet *Alfonſo* invades the Kingdom, and is by the Duke of *Seſſa* received, and entertains ſeveral of the

Joan Queen of *Naples* dies.

Princes

Princes in his pay, with design being once entred *Capua* (which the Prince in *Alphonso*'s name possessed) to force the *Neapolitans* to a compliance; sending his fleet to attack *Gaieta* which held for the *Neapolitans*: Whereupon they of *Naples* crave aid of Duke *Philip*, who perswades the *Genoveſe* to assist them, and they not only to satisfie the Duke their Prince, but to secure the Merchandizes they had in *Naples* and *Gaieta*, armed out a powerful fleet. Which, *Alfonſo* having intelligence of, strengthens his, and goes in person to encounter the *Genoveſe*, whom ingaging neer the Island of *Pontio*, he received a total discomfiture, being himself with many other Princes taken, and by the *Genoveſe* sent prisoners to *Philip*. This Victory terrified all those Princes of *Italy*, who stood in fear of *Philips* greatness, beleiving he had now an opportunity to make himself Lord of all; but he (so different and various are men in their Judgments) took a course quite contrary. *Alfonſo* was a prudent man, and as soon as he came to discourse with *Philip*, he demonstrated to him, "*How much he deceived himself in favouring* Reyner *against him; for if* Reyner *came once to be King of* Naples, *he would with all his power endeavour to reduce* Milan *under the Command of* France, *that he might have easier assistance thence, and not have the way still to force open for his releif when he stood in Necessity. Nor could he otherwise secure himself, but by the ruin of that Duke-*

Alphonſo King of *Sicily* taken Prisoner by the *Genoveſe*.

dom,

dom, and making of it French, *whilſt the quite contrary muſt follow, were he King of* Naples; *for having no Enemy but the* French *to fear, he ſhould be conſtrained to love, honour, and obey him who had the only power to open a way to his enemies, ſo that the title of the Kingdom would indeed reſide in* Alphonſo, *but the Authority and power in* Philip. *Wherefore it much more concerned him then himſelf, to conſider the benefit of the one and prejudice of the other, unleſs he were more intent to pleaſe his fancy then ſecure his ſtate: for on one ſide he would be a Prince, and free, on the other (placed between two powerful Princes) he muſt either loſe his State, live in continual jealouſie, or obey them as their Servant.* Theſe words made ſuch impreſſion in the Dukes mind, that changing purpoſes, he releaſes *Alphonſo*, returning him honourably to *Genova*; who thence tranſports himſelf to *Gaieta*, which upon the firſt News of his delivery, had been ſurprized by ſome Lords of his Party. The *Genoveſe* ſeeing the Duke had, without any notice taken of them, releaſed *Alphonſo* (aſſuming honour to himſelf at their expence and hazard, for to him remained all the gratitude due for his enlargment, and to them only the regret for his defeat and Captivity) were extreamly incenſed againſt him. In the City of *Genova*, whilſt it was at liberty, they were wont by free votes to create a head whom they called *Doge*, not as abſolute Prince to determine matters of himſelf, but as Preſident of a Council,

Alfonſo releaſed by Duke Philip.

Council, or ſpeaker of a Parliament, to propound Matters whereof the Magiſtrates and Councils ſhould conſult. This City has many Noble families ſo powerful, that with difficulty they ſubmit to the Commands of the Magiſtrates, and amongſt the reſt the *Fregoſi* and *Adorni* claim one of the cheifeſt ranks: From theſe arrive the Diviſions of that City, and the corruption of civil orders; for many times not only fighting among themſelves, but taking Arms againſt the Government, it happens that one party is oppreſſed, and the other rules, and often thoſe which are deprived of their Dignity, have recourſe to Forreign aſſiſtance; ſubmitting that Dominion which they cannot enjoy themſelves to the juriſdiction of ſtrangers. Whence it frequently followed, that thoſe who reigned in *Lombardy*, commanded *Genova*, as now at the taking of King *Alphonſo* happened. Among the chief of the *Genoveſe* that occaſioned the ſubmiſſion of that City to *Philip*, was *Francis Spinola*, of whom (as it often happens to thoſe that betray their Country into Servitude) the Duke not long after grew Jealous; whereat diſcontent, he had made choice of a kind of Voluntary Exile at *Gaieta*; where Reſiding when the Sea-fight hapned with *Alfonſo*, and Behaving himſelf valiantly in that encounter, he thought he had afreſh merited ſo much of the Duke, that he might at leaſt live ſecurely at *Genova*; but finding the Duke ſtill continued his Jealouſies (for he could not

Francis Spinola the cauſe of the *Genova's* Servitude attempts to free them.

not believe, that a man who loved not the liberty of his Country could love him) he determined once more to try his Fortune, and at one push restore Liberty to his Country, and Fame and Security to himself; for he saw there was no other way to gain a good opinion with his fellow Citizens, than to make the hand that gave the wound to heal it. And perceiving the universal indignation conceived against the Duke, for discharging King *Alphonso*, he thought it now a fit opportunity to put his design in execution, and communicates this his determination to several, whom he knew to be of the same Opinion, perswading and encouraging them to joyn with him in it. It was on the solemn Feast of St. *John Baptist* when *Arismino* (a new Governour sent from the Duke) entred the City, accompanied by *Opicino* the old Governour, and many *Genoeses*: *Francis Spinola* now thought fit no longer to delay the Attempt, but sallying out of his House with those that were privy to his Determination, and coming into the publick Market-place, against which his Palace stood, openly proclaimed the Name of *Liberty*. 'Twas miraculous to see with what alacrity and readiness the people ran to that very Name; so that none, that either for their own Benefit, or any other Advantage, loved the Duke, had time either to take Arms, or scarce to consult which way to flie. *Arismino*, and some *Genoveſe* with him, fled into the Castle, which

was kept for the Duke. *Opicino* presuming, if he could recover the Palace, where he had 2000 Souldiers under his Command, he might either save himself, or encourage his Friends to defend him, fled thitherwards; but before he could reach the *Piazza*, was slain, and his Body torn in several pieces, drag'd about the whole City. And the *Genovese* having thus reduced the City under their own free Magistrates, within few daies after took the Castle, and all the other strong Places, garrisoned by *Philip*, clearly casting off the yoak of *Milan*. This success changed the face of things; for, whereas before all the Princes of *Italy* were terrified, fearing least the Duke should grow too powerful, they had now some hopes he might be dealt withal, and stopt in his carrier; and notwithstanding the League lately made, the *Venetians* and *Florentines* made Peace with the State of *Genova*: Whereupon *Rinaldo de Albizi*, and other principal Men banished out of *Florence*, seeing these Disturbances, and the course of things changed, entertained a hope they might perswade the Duke to an open War with *Florence*; and coming to *Milan*, *Rinaldo* addresses himself to the Duke in this manner; *That We, once your Enemies, should thus confidently come to crave your assistance, to restore us to our Country, cannot be wondred at either by you, or any other that considers worldly Affairs, how strangly they proceed, and how variable they are: for we can produce mani-*

Genova recovers its Liberty.

Rinaldo de Albizi perswades the Duke of *Milan* to War with *Florence*.

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feſt and reaſonable Excuſes of our paſt and preſent Actions, both to you, and to our Country. None can blame that Man, that ſtrives to defend his Country, in whatſoever manner he defend it: Nor did we ever deſign to injure you, but to guard our Country from Oppreſſion; for which we appeal to your ſelf, who can teſtifie, That when the League was in a full courſe of Victory, no ſooner perceived we you inclined to a ſolid Peace, but we were more earneſt for it than your ſelf. So that we are not conſcious of having done any thing, ſhould make us doubtful of obtaining favour from you: Nor can our Country complain, that we now encourage you to employ the ſame Arms againſt it, which, with ſo much obſtinacy we once defended it from; for that Country deſerves to be Beloved by all its Citizens, that bears an equall Love to all it's Citizens, and not that which adoring ſome few, Poſt-pones all the reſt. Nor let any one in General terms condemn all occaſions of taking up Arms againſt our Country; for though Cities are bodies mixed, yet have they, with ſimple bodies ſome reſemblance: and as in theſe, many infirmities, are bred, which without burnings and inciſions cannot be Cured, ſo in the other oftentimes happen thoſe Inconveniencies and diſorders, that a good and godly Citizen, where fire and Sword are neceſſary, would ſin more in leaving the wounds uncured, than in applying thoſe ſharp remedies. And what greater Malady can a republick groan under, then Servitude? or what is

more proper and neceſſary, then that a fit remedy be applied to ſo violent a temper. That War only is juſt which is neceſſary, and thoſe Arms pious, where no other hope is left. What Neceſſity can be more preſſing then ours, or what piety greater, then to redeem our Country out of Slavery? Doubtleſs then our cauſe is juſt and merciful, which both you and we ought firſt to conſider: Neither is Juſtice wanting on your part, ſince the Florentines *have not been aſhamed, after a league ſo ſolemnly, and ſo lately agreed on, to conclude a peace with the Rebelling* Genoveſe. *Therefore if for our ſake you will not, yet let your own cauſe move you, and that the rather, becauſe of the facility of the Enterprize; Nor let the Examples paſt affright you, whereby you have Experienced the power and obſtinate defence made by that people, both which might reaſonably deter you, were that City ſtill as virtuous as before: but now alas! tis quite the Contrary, for what Force is to be feared from that City, which has ſo lately deſpoiled it ſelf of its riches and induſtry? what reſolution can be expected in a people divided by ſo many new and various enmities? which diſunions will be the cauſe, why the riches they have yet left, cannot be employed in ſuch manner as formerly: for men willingly expoſe their Patrimonies, when they ſee them expended for their own Glory, and the Honour and Safety of their Country, hoping to reap that advantage by Peace, which War deprives them of; but the Caſe is quite otherwiſe, when both in War and Peace they*

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behold themſelves oppreſſed, forced by one to ſuffer the Injury of their Enemies, and by the other the Inſolency of their Governours; becauſe the Avarice of their own Citizens is more prejudicial to a People, than the ſpoil of their Enemies; for they live ſtill in hopes to ſee a concluſion of this, but deſpair ever to behold an end of that. Beſides, in former Wars, you aſſailed a whole City, and are now to wage War only againſt the ſmalleſt part of it; You attempted then to take away the Power from many Citizens, now you aſſail only a few wicked Uſurpers; You then ſought to deprive a City of its Freedom, but now you endeavour to reſtore it to Liberty. And it is not reaſonable to imagine, but ſuch diſparity of occaſions muſt produce as different effects; nay, you may almoſt conclude of certain Victory; which, how much it will fortifie your ſtate you may eaſily judge, having made Toſcany *your friend by the tyes of ſuch high and conſiderable Obligations, which in all your Enterprizes will ſtand you in more ſtead, than the whole Force of* Milan: *and, whereas, at other times, this Invaſion would be branded as Violent and Ambitious, 'twill now gain the Epithites of Juſt and Compaſſionate. Let not therefore this opportunity ſlip, but conſider that as your former Attempts upon this City, were attended with difficulty, damage and diſgrace; this will be Crowned with ſucceſs, advantage and honour.* There needed not many words to perſwade the Duke to a War with *Florence*; for he that

is commanded by an hereditary Hate, and blind Ambition, is eaſily led to any thing; and the freſh Injuries of the *Genoveſes* made him the more inclinable: but yet, the remembrance of his vaſt Expences, the Hazards he had been expoſed to, and the Loſſes he had ſo lately ſuſtain'd, ſomewhat ſtartled him.

The Duke endeavors to recover *Genoua.*

This Duke, as ſoon as he had intelligence of the Revolt of *Genova*, had ſent *Nicholas Piccinino*, with all his Men at Arms, and as many Foot as he could levy in the Country, againſt that City, to reduce it by force, before the Citizens had their minds ſetled, or had eſtabliſhed a new Government; confiding in the Caſtle of *Genoua*, which ſtill held out for him. And though *Nicholas* drove the *Genoveſe* up the Mountains, and took from them the Vale of *Pozevori*, where they had Fortified themſelves, conſtraining them to retire within the Walls of their City, yet he found ſo many ſtops and difficulties, and ſo much reſolution in the *Genoveſe* to defend themſelves, that he was content at laſt to retreat. Whereupon the Duke, at the motion of the baniſhed *Florentines*, gave order to aſſault the River on the Eaſtern Confines, and to proſecute the War towards the Country of *Piſa* with all vigour imaginable, believing this Attempt would, from time to time, chalk him out the way how to proceed farther: whereupon *Nicholas* beſieges *Serazana*, and takes it; and after having laid waſte many places, the more to increaſe the *Florentines* Jealouſie, he comes

to

to *Lucca*, giving out, That he was marching into the Kingdom of *Naples* to aſſiſt the King of *Arragon*. Pope *Eugenius* upon theſe new Accidents leaves *Florence*, and goes to *Bolonia*, where he treats an Accommodation between the Duke and the League; declaring to the Duke, that if he would not conſent to the Agreement, he ſhould be neceſſitated to conſign over Earl *Francis* (at preſent his Confederate, and under his pay) to aſſiſt the League: but though the Pope took a great deal of pains in this Affair, his labour proved all in vain; for the Duke would conſent to nothing unleſs *Genova* ſubmitted, and the League would have that City free: whereupon, in deſpair of Peace, all ſides prepared for War. *Nicholas Piccinino* being come to *Lucca*, the *Florentines* jealous of ſome new Deſign, cauſed all their Forces, under the Command of *Neri di Gino*, to march into the Country of *Piſa*, and prevailed with the *Pope* that Earl *Francis* ſhould joyn with him, and the whole Army make head at *Sancta Gonda*. *Piccinino* who lay at *Lucca*, deſired free paſſage to the Kingdom, which being denied him, he threatned to force it. The Armies were equal in Men and Captains, and therefore both wary of tempting Fortune; and beſides, withheld by the cold Seaſon (for it was now *December*) lay many daies without any Action on either ſide. The firſt that Moved was *Nicholas Piccinino*, who being informed, That if he ſtormed

Vico Piſano by night, he might eaſily take it, made the Attempt; but not having the good fortune to carry it, he ſackt all the Country, pillaging and burning the Borough of St. *John alla Vena.* The ſucceſs of which enterprize, though in effect to little purpoſe, encouraged *Nicholas* to proceed farther, eſpecially ſeeing the Earl and *Neri* yet ſtirred not: whereupon he aſſaults St. *Maria in Caſtello*, and *Filletto*, and carries them. Yet for all this the *Florentine* Army lay ſtill, not that the Earl was afraid, but becauſe the *Florentine* Magiſtrates, out of reſpect to the Pope who endeavoured for Peace, had not yet decreed the War; but what the *Florentines* did in prudence, their Enemies attributed to Cowardize, and thence took Courage to proceed to new Actions: whereupon, concluding upon the taking of *Barga*, they preſented themſelves before it with all their Forces. The Beſieging this Town made the *Florentines* lay aſide all reſpects, and reſolve not only to relieve *Barga*, but to fall upon the Territories of *Lucca:* whereupon, the Earl advanced towards *Piccinino*, and engaging him near *Barga* overcame him, forcing him, in great diſorder, to raiſe his Siege. Mean while the *Venetians* judging the Duke had broken the Peace, ſent *John Franciſco de Gonzaga*, their General, to *Ghiaraddada*, who ravaging and ſpoiling the Dukes Country, forced him to recall *Nicholas Piccinino* out of *Toſcany*; which

The Dukes Forces under *Piccinino* defeated.

Revo-

Revocation, together with the Defeat before given to *Nicholas*, put the *Florentines* in ſuch heart, that they reſolved to attack *Lucca*, vvith great hopes to become Maſters of it: Nor had they indeed any great reaſon to fear it, or vvere by any reſpect obliged to refrain it, ſince the Duke, whoſe Forces only awed them, vvas diverted by the *Venetians*; And the *Luccheſi* having received and quartered their Enemies, and encouraged them to the aſſault of their Towns, could not now complain of any wrong done them: In *April* 1437 the Earl ſet forward vvith his Army; but before the *Florentines* vvould make the Aſſault upon others, they thought fit to recover their own, and retook *Sancta Maria in Caſtello*, and all the other places taken by *Piccinino*; and then entring the Territories they beſieged *Camajore*, vvhoſe Inhabitants, though faithful to their Lords, yet fear of a preſent Enemy prevailing over their fidelity to diſtant Friends, they yeilded: and with like Reputation vvere *Maſſa* and *Serazana* ſurrendred; which done, about the latter end of *May* the Army drew towards *Lucca*, all the vvay as they vvent deſtroying the Corn, burning the Villages, cutting down the Trees, rooting-up the Vineyards, driving away the Cattle; and in a word, acting all the Out-rages and Hoſtilities, the moſt enraged Enemy would or could do. Whilſt on the other ſide, the *Luccheſi* ſeeing themſelves forſaken by the Duke, and deſpairing

1437.

Lucca aſſaulted.

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to defend their Country, had deſerted it: And with Ramparts, Trenches, and all other convenient Fortifications, ſtrengthned their City, not doubting but having men enough within, they might for ſome time defend it, as in former Aſſaults made by the *Floreutines*, they had done: they only feared the mutable mind of the Common-people, who perhaps, wearied with the Siege, would be more concerned for their private danger, than for the Liberty of their City, and ſo force them to ſome baſe and diſhonourable Compoſition. Wherefore, to heighten their Reſolutions, they aſſembled them in the Market-place, where one of the graveſt and wiſeſt Citizens, ſpake in this manner: *You ought always to remember, that what's done out of Neceſſity deſerves neither commendations nor blame; and therefore, if you ſhould complain that we have occaſioned this War by receiving the Dukes Forces into our Territories, and permitting them to aſſault the* Florentines, *you are much in the wrong. You know well the ancient Enmity born to this State by the* Florentine *people, which no Injury of yours, nor Jealouſie of theirs, but only your Weakneſs, and their Ambition hath occaſioned; for the firſt gives them hopes to oppreſs you, and the laſt encourages them to perform it. Nor can you well imagine that any deſert in you can quench, or any injury to them inflame their deſires of offending you. Wherefore, as they ſtrive to rob you of your Liberty, you muſt*

labour

labour to defend it; and as what either Party shall do to those ends, though all may be grieved, none can wonder: for though it may afflict us to see our Territories invaded, our Towns sackt, our Houses burnt, our Country destroyed; yet none can be such a fool to admire at it, since, were it in our power, we should do the like to them or worse: And, whereas they have begun this War upon Piccinino's coming hither, had he not come they would have found some other pretence, and perhaps the danger being deferred would have proved greater; we ought not therefore to blame his coming hither, but our own hard Fortune, and their Ambitious Nature: for we could not refuse the entrance of the Dukes Forces into our Dominions, nor when they were entred, hinder them from prosecuting the War. You know that without some powerful Alliance we cannot be defended, and what Potentate more proper to do it, both for Force and fidelity, than the Duke? He restored our Liberty, 'tis reasonable he should defend it: He hath been a constant persecutor of all our ancient Enemies, if then, by not offending the Florentines we should have incurred his Anger, we had both lost our Friend, and made our Enemy more powerful, and more apt to offend us: So that it is much better to have this War with the Dukes love, than Peace with his displeasure: And we have reason to hope he will rescue us from those dangers in which he hath engaged us, provided we do not forsake him. You know well with what

what rage the Florentines *have oft-times aſſaulted us, and with how much glory we have defended our ſelves; even then when we had no other hope than in God, and Time, and both of them miraculouſly preſerved us: and if then we defended our ſelves, why ſhould we deſpair of doing it now? All* Italy *had then left us as a prey to them: now we have the Duke on our ſide, and may reaſonably believe the* Venetians *will be ſlow in offending us; for the greatneſs of* Florence *will not be conſiſtent with their Intereſt: In former Actions the* Florentines *were more at freedom, and in more hopes of Aſſiſtance, and we in all points weaker; for then a Tyrant defended us, now we defend our ſelves: the glory accrued then to others, now 'twill be our Own: then united they aſſaulted us, now in diſ-union; all* Italy *being filled with their Exiles. Finally, were none of theſe things ſo, Neceſſity ſhould urge to a reſolute defence. 'Tis reaſonable to withſtand every Enemy, for they all proſecute their own glory with our ruine; but above all we ought to dread the* Florentines, *whom our Obedience, Tribute, and Subjection will not content, but who aim at our Perſons and Eſtates; with our Blood to ſatiate their Cruelty, and with our Subſtance their Avarice: ſo that all ſorts and degrees among us ought to have them in deteſtation. Be not therefore diſmayed to ſee your Fields ſpoiled, your Towns burnt, your Caſtles garriſoned or demoliſhed; for if we ſave our City, they will eaſily again be recovered, but loſing*

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it, all will with it be utterly loſt: preſerving our Liberty, hardly can the Enemy preſerve our Towns; but loſing our Freedom, in vain poſſeſs we any thing elſe. Stand therefore to your Arms, and when you fight remember, That the reward of Victory will not only be the ſafety of your Country, but of your Houſes, your Wives, and your Children. Theſe laſt words ſo animated the whole Multitude, that with an univerſal Cry they all promiſed rather to die, than yeild, or conſent to any Terms infringing their Liberty; and prepared all things neceſſary for the Defence of a City. Mean while the *Florentine* Army lay not Idle; and after unexpreſſible Damage done to the Country, took *Monte Carlo* on Articles, and from thence went and encamped before *Uzzano*, that the *Luccheſi*, begirt on every ſide, might become hopeleſs of any relief, and conſtrained by Famine, yeild. The *Luccheſi* (as it was but reaſonable) ſeeing themſelves thus ſtreightned, had recourſe to the Duke for Aid, by all kind and obliging means recommending themſelves to his favour; ſometimes in their Speeches ſetting forth their own Merits; ſometimes the Oppreſſions of the *Florentines*; and how much Courage it would add to his Friends, if he defended them; and how diſ-hearten them, if he left them defenceleſs; and if they ſhould loſe their Lives and Liberties, He, with his Friends, would loſe his Honour and Credit with all thoſe who, for His ſake, ſhould here-

Lucca craves Aid of Milan.

hereafter run themſelves into any danger: adding Tears to their Speeches, to the end, that if the Obligations he had to them could not move him, Compaſſion might. Inſomuch, that the Duke having his old grudge againſt the *Florentines*, now joyned with his freſh Obligation to the *Lucchesi*, and above all, deſirous the *Florentine* Power ſhould not be increaſed by ſuch an addition, determined to ſend a great Army into *Tuſcany*, or ſo nercely aſſail the *Venetians*, that the *Florentines* ſhould be glad to raiſe their Siege to come and aſſiſt them. This Reſolution taken, Intelligence was ſoon brought to *Florence*, that the Duke was ſending Forces into *Toſcany*, ſo that their hopes of Succeſs began to flag: however, that the Duke might be diverted in *Lombardy*, they ſolicited the *Venetians* to ſet upon him with all their Forces. But they were already diſheartned by the Marquis of *Mantova's* forſaking them, and taking the Dukes pay: whereby, being in a manner diſarm'd, they replyed, that they were ſo far from being able to appear in a better poſture, that they ſhould not be capable to keep the field, if Earl *Francis* were not ſent to be their General, with Condition, that he ſhould oblige himſelf in Perſon to paſs the *Po*; for they would not ſtand to the old Articles, by which he was not obliged to paſs it; alledging, that without a General they could not make War, and on none but the Earl could they rely, nor on him neither, unleſs

unleſs he were obliged to make War in all places. The *Florentines* were of opinion the War ſhould be hotly purſued in *Lombardy*; and on the other ſide, without the Earl, they deſpaired of ever carrying *Lucca*: and very ſenſible were they, that this Demand of the *Venetians* was not made ſo much out of any neceſſity they were in of the Earls preſence, as to hinder them of this Victory: On the other ſide, the Earl was to go into *Lombardy* whenever the League appointed him, but he would not change his Covenants, unwilling to deprive himſelf of the hopes of that Alliance promiſed him by the Duke. Thus were the *Florentines* diſtracted between two diverſe Paſſions, The deſire of having *Lucca*, and, The fear of a War with the Duke. But (as for the moſt part it happens) fear prevailed, and they were content that the Earl having taken *Uzzano*, ſhould go into *Lombardy*. There remained yet another difficulty, which not being in the *Florentines* power to compoſe, perplexed them, and created more doubts than the former: for the Earl would not paſs the *Po*; and the *Venetians*, if he did not, would not entertain him. So there being no way of accommodation to be found, but by the one yeilding to the other, the *Florentines* perſwaded the Earl, that he ſhould write a Letter to their Senate, obliging himſelf to paſs that River; alledging, that a private Promiſe could not make a breach of publick Covenants, and that

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he might afterwards make War without paſſing it; only this advantage would accrue to them, That the *Venetians* having begun the War, would be forced to proſecute it, and thereby give a diverſion to thoſe Forces they ſo much feared: and to the *Venetians*, on the other ſide, they affirmed, That this private Letter was enough to oblige him, and therefore they ought to content themſelves with it; for if they could contrive how the Earl might ſtill preſerve his Reſpects to his Father in Law, it were convenient to do it, and would be no way either for his or their advantage, without manifeſt neceſſity to diſcover it. Thus was the Earls paſſage into *Lombardy* contrived; who having taken *Uzzano*, and raiſed ſome Bulwarks about *Lucca*, to ſtreighten the Beſieged, leaving the Charge of the War to his Lieutenants, he paſſed the *Alps* and comes to *Reggio*; where, the *Venetians* grown jealous of his proceedings, to make tryal of his intentions, diſpatcht away a Meſſenger to him with Orders to paſs the *Po*, and joyn the reſt of their Forces; which the Earl utterly denying to do, there happened many reproachful words between him and *Andrea Mauroceno*, who was ſent from the *Venetians*; the one telling the other, that he had a great deal of Pride, but little faith; and ſeveral proteſts being made, by the one That he was not obliged to the Service, and by the other, That there ſhould be no Mony paid. The Earl returned into *Toſcany*,

Diſtruſt between the *Venetians* and *Florentines*.

Toſcany, and *Maurocena* to *Venice*. The Earl was by the *Florentines* quartered in the Country of *Piſa*, and they were ſtill in hopes to induce him to renew the War againſt *Lucca*; which they found he had no great inclination to; for the Duke underſtanding that out of reſpect to him he had refuſed to paſs the *Po*, thought he might by his mediation ſave *Lucca* likewiſe, and therefore deſired him to conſent to make Peace between the *Luccheſi* and the *Florentines*, and (if he would) include him alſo; putting him in hopes he ſhould, when he pleaſed, be married to his Daughter. This Alliance tickled the Earl, being in hopes by means of it (the Duke having no Male iſſue) to make himſelf one day Lord of *Milan*: wherefore he delayed the *Florentine* proceedings, declaring he would not ſtir till the *Venetians* had made full payment of his Conduct Mony: nor was their pay ſufficient; for deſigning to live ſecurely in his own Eſtates, he thought it convenient to have other ſupports than the *Florentines*; and if he were deſerted by the *Venetians*, it was time to look about him; cunningly threatning and intimating an Agreement with the Duke. Theſe Deceits and Cavils vexed the *Florentines* at heart; for they not only beheld *Lucca* loſt to them, but were in fear of their own Eſtates, whenever the Duke and Earl ſhould joyn together: And to induce the *Venetians* to make payment of the Mony promiſed,

Coſmo de Medici went to *Venice*, believing by his Reputation he might incline them to it. The Matter was at large diſputed in their Senate: The ſtate of *Italy* laid down before them, what force the Duke was of, and where the ſtrength and reputation of Arms now lay; and that if the Duke and Earl did joyn, the *Venetians* would be driven to Sea, and the *Florentines* in danger of their Liberty. To which the *Venetians* replyed, That they knew their own ſtrength, and that of *Italy*; affirming, it was not their Cuſtome to pay Souldiers that ſerved others; wherefore the *Florentines* ſhould take care to pay *Sforza*, ſince he had done them Service; but certainly it were fitter if they would poſſeſs their City in ſecurity, to abaſe the Pride of the Earl, than pay him; for the Ambition of the man was boundleſs, and if now he were paid without doing Service, he would ere long demand ſomething more diſhoneſt and dangerous; therefore in their opinion, they ought in time to find ſome way to bridle his Inſolency, and not ſuffer him to become incorrigible; but if they either for fear, or any other deſign, thought fit to preſerve his friendſhip, they might pay him if they pleaſed. Thus *Coſmo*, without effecting any thing, was fain to return: Yet the *Florentines* uſed their endeavours with the Earl, that he might not withdraw himſelf from the League; and he was indeed unwilling to deſert them, but his earneſt deſire

Difference between *Venice* and *Florence* about paying *Sforza*.

to

to conclude his Marriage kept the Balance ſo even, that the Scales upon every Accident (as one ſoon after happened) were ready to turn. The Earl had left the charge of his Towns, in *La Marca*, to one *Furlano* a principal Leader of his; who being long ſolicited by the Duke, diſcharged himſelf of the Earls Service, and entred into the Dukes pay; which made the Earl, out of fear to himſelf, lay aſide all Reſpects, and come to an Agreement with the Duke; and one of the Articles was, That he ſhould no further concern himſelf in the Affairs of *Romania* and *Toſcany*. Upon this Concluſion, the Earl inſtantly perſwaded the *Florentines* to make Peace with *Lucca*, and indeed in a manner forced them to it; ſo that ſeeing no other remedy, in *April* 1438, Articles were concluded on; by which the *Luccheſi* ſtill remained free, and the *Florentines* had *Monte Carlo*, and ſeveral other of their Caſtles left in their poſſeſſion: then with Letters of Reſentment they filled all *Italy*, declaring, That ſince God and Men had conſpired that *Lucca* ſhould not fall under their ſubjection, they had now made Peace with it: and ſeldome have any grieved more for the loſs of their own, than the *Florentines* did, that they could not violently ſeize the Poſſeſſions of other men. In theſe times, though the *Florentines* had ſo many Irons in the fire, they forgot not to have a care of their Neighbours, and to adorn their City. *Nicholas Fortibrace*,

Peace between *Lucca* and *Florence*.

who had married a Daughter of Earl *Poppi*, was, as hath been ſaid before, dead. That Earl had at *Nicholas*'s death, the Borough of St. *Sepolchro*, with the Caſtle, in his hands; which he held during his Son-in Law's life, as Governour under him; after whoſe death, he pretended ſtill to keep poſſeſſion of them for his Daughters Dower, refuſing to ſurrender them to the Pope, who (as of right belonging to the Church) had demanded them: whereupon he ſent the Patriarch with Forces to recover them: the Earl doubting himſelf unable to endure the ſhock, offers the Town to the *Florentines*, who refuſed it; but at the Popes return to *Florence*, mediated an accommodation between him and the Earl, and finding ſome difficulty in the agreeing them, the Patriarch aſſaulted *Caſentino*, and took *Prato*, *Vecchio* and *Romena*, and in like manner offered them to the *Florentines*; who refuſed the acceptance of them, unleſs the Pope would firſt conſent they might reſtore them to the Earl; to which the Pope, after tedious Diſputes agreed; but would firſt have the *Florentines* promiſe, that the Earl ſhould ſurrender the Borough. The Popes Affair thus ſetled, the *Florentines* thought convenient (their Cathedral Church called St. *Reparata*, which had a long time been building, being now brought to ſuch perfection that Divine Service might there be celebrated) to requeſt his Holineſs in Perſon to Conſecrate it, who readily conſented; and

The Pope Conſecrates the Cathedral of *Florence*.

and for the greater Magnificence of the City and Church, and to do the Pope more Honour, a Terrace was built from St. *Maria Novella*, where the Pope reſided, to the Church that was to be Conſecrated, four yards wide, and two yards high, covered over with very rich Cloth, on which only the Pope and his Court, with the Magiſtrates, and thoſe Citizens appointed to attend him, walked; the reſt of the Commonalty and People, ſtood either in the Streets, in their Houſes, or in the Church, to behold ſo glorious a ſpectacle. Having performed all the Ceremonies uſual in ſuch Conſecrations, the Pope to give a greater Teſtimony of his love to the City, honoured with Knighthood *Giulian Avanzati*, then *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice, and in all times accounted a Noble and worthy Citizen; and the Senate, to appear no leſs kind than the Pope, gave him the Government of *Piſa* for a year. In theſe times there was ſome difference between the *Roman* and *Greek* Churches about Divine Service, and becauſe in the laſt Council held at *Baſil*, much had been ſaid about it by the Weſtern Prelates, it was there determined, that all poſſible diligence ſhould be uſed to induce the Emperour and the *Greek* Prelates to aſſemble in Council, and there to make tryal if they could reconcile the Differences, and conſent to the *Roman* Church. And though this determination intrenched upon the Majeſty of the Emperour, and much more grated

Difference between the *Roman* and *Greek* Churches.

on the proud ſpirits of his Prelates, to yeild to the Pope of *Rome*; yet being oppreſſed by the *Turks*, and conſidering they were not able of themſelves to defend themſelves, that they might with more ſecurity demand and rely upon the Weſtern Aſſiſtance, they reſolved to ſubmit; and ſo the Emperour, Patriarchs, and other *Greek* Prelates and Lords, in order to an aſſembly (according to the Concluſion agreed on at the Council of *Baſil*) came to *Venice*, where terrified with the Plague, they reſolved in *Florence* to end their Differences; and after ſeveral Meetings of the *Roman* and *Greek* Prelates, and many long and tedious Diſputes, the *Greeks* ſubmitted, and came to accord with the Church and Pope of *Rome*. The Peace being concluded between *Florence* and *Lucca*, and between the Duke and the Earl, it was thought an eaſie matter to pacifie thoſe Arms which ſtill infeſted *Italy*, eſpecially in *Lombardy* and *Toſcany*: for as for the War in *Naples* between *Rinate* of *Anjou*, and *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*, it could not be expected to be put an end to without the ruine of one Party: And though the Pope was diſſatisfied, having loſt many of his Towns, and that all men were ſenſible of the Ambition both of the Duke and the *Venetians*; yet, moſt thought the Pope out of neceſſity, and the others out of wearineſs would lay down their Arms: But things fell out quite contrary, for neither the Duke nor the *Venetians* would be quiet;

The Greeks ſubmit.

quiet; whence it happened that new Forces were raiſed, and *Lombardy* and *Toſcany* again made Seats of War. The Dukes haughty mind could not endure the *Venetians* ſhould be Maſters of *Bergamo* and *Breſcia*, eſpecially ſeeing them in a Warlike poſture, and daily moleſting and diſquieting his Country. He therefore ſuppoſed, that if they were once deſerted by the Pope, the *Florentines*, and the Earl, he could not only ſtop their Carreir, but recover his own Towns. To compaſs which, he deſigned to take *Romania* from the Church; gueſſing, if he were Lord of that Province, the Pope could no way hurt him, and the *Florentines* ſeeing the fire at their own doors, either would not ſtir for fear, or if they did, inuit very diſadvantagiouſly aſſault him. The Duke alſo very well knew, how angry the *Florentines* were at the *Venetians* about the buſineſs of *Lucca*, and therefore thought they would not be over-eager to ingage in their quarrel. As for Earl *Francis*, he doubted not but the late Agreement, and the hopes of his Alliance would keep him ſteddy; and that he might eſchew all manner of offence, and give the leſs alarum, being by his late Articles with the Earl, bound not to invade *Romania*, he privately treated with *Nicholas Piccinino*, that he (as if led by his proper Ambition) ſhould take that Enterprize in hand. *Nicholas*, at the time of making the Agreement between the Duke and Earl, was in *Romania*, and appeared

New Troubles in *Lombardy* and *Toſcany*.

highly diſpleaſed at the Dukes entertaining a Friendſhip with his perpetual Enemy, and thereupon with his Army withdrew to *Camurata*, a place between *Furli* and *Ravenna*; where he incamped as if it had been for a long time, and with deſign to ſtay there till ſome new Expedition preſented. And the fame of his anger and diſcontent being ſpread abroad every where, *Nicholas* ſent to acquaint the Pope, how well he had deſerved of the Duke, and how ingratefully he had been dealt withal by him; and withal let him know that *Philip* gave out, That having now all the Arms of *Italy* (under the two principal Captains) at his Command, he would ſeize the whole Province: But yet, if his Holineſs pleaſed of thoſe two Captains (the Duke perſwaded himſelf to be at his diſpoſe) one ſhould become his Enemy, and the other be uſeleſs to him; for if he would provide Mony and pay his Souldiers, he would fall upon thoſe Eſtates the Earl had rob'd the Church of, and giving him his hands full in his own defence, hinder him from preſſing forward the Dukes Ambition. The Pope believed this feigned Tale, it appearing reaſonable to him, ſends *Nicholas* five thouſand Ducats, with mountains of Promiſes, offering Eſtates to him and his Sons. And though the Pope was often Advertized of the Deceit, yet he would needs believe it a Reality, and would hear nothing to the contrary. *Oſtaſio da Polenta* was now Go-

Nicholas Piccinino cunningly deceives the Pope.

vernour

vernour of *Ravenna*, for the Church. *Nicholas* thinking it fit no longer to delay the execution of his Deſigns (his Son *Francis* having to the Popes great Ignominy already ſackt *Spoleto*) reſolved to beſiege *Ravenna*; either becauſe he thought it might eaſily be taken, or having ſome private Intelligence with *Oſtaſio*; however it were, in a very few daies lying before it, it was ſurrendred on Articles; and ſoon after *Bolonia*, *Imola* and *Furli* followed the ſame fortune: but what was moſt to be admired, of all the Caſtles held for the Pope in that Territory not one but ſubmitted to *Nicholas*. Nor did he think theſe injurious Actions wrong enough to the Pope, but with reproachful words he derided him, writing to him, That he had deſervedly loſt his Towns, ſince he had not been aſhamed to make a breach of Friendſhip between him and his old Friend the Duke, by having filled all *Italy* with Letters, ſignifying, that he had deſerted the Duke and joyned with him. *Nicholas* thus poſſeſſed of *Romania* leaves it in Charge to *Fxducio* his Son, and with the choice of his Army marches into *Lombardy*, and joyning with the Dukes Forces, enters the Territory of *Breſcia*, which in a ſhort time he becomes Maſter of, and beſieges the City. The Duke, who was deſirous the *Venetians* ſhould be left as a prey to him, excuſes himſelf to the Pope, the *Florentines*, and the Earl, declaring, That what *Nicholas* had done in *Romania*, if it were

Nicholas ſeizes all *Romania*.

Breſcia beſieged.

were a breach of Articles, was alſo contrary to his Orders, and by private Meſſengers inſinuated into them, that he would give evident demonſtrations of the diſlike of it, by puniſhing his diſobedience when time and opportunity ſerved. The *Florentines* and Earl gave no Credit to him, believing (as indeed the truth was) that the Attempt was made only to keep them at a bay, whilſt he tamed the *Venetians*; who, proud and haughty (believing themſelves able to oppoſe the Dukes Forces) vouchſafed not to ask any ones Aſſiſtance, but under *Gattamelata* their General maintained the War. Earl *Francis*, with the conſent and favour of the *Florentines*, was deſirous to have gone to the Aſſiſtance of King *Renate*, if theſe Accidents in *Lombardy* and *Romania* had not withheld him; and the *Florentines* were willing to have encouraged him to it, by reaſon of the ancient Amity between their City and the Houſe of *France*; but the Duke favoured *Alphonſo*, ſince the Friendſhip contracted in the time he was his Priſoner: however, both one and the other forbore whilſt the War was at their own doors, undertaking diſtant Enterprizes. And now the *Florentines* ſeeing *Romania* ſurprized, and the *Venetians* aſſaulted (from others ruine, fearing their own) deſired the Earl to come into *Toſcany*, where they would conſult what was to be done to oppoſe the Dukes Forces, which were now greater than ever; affirming, that

that if ſuddenly his Inſolencies were not ſuppreſſed, all that held any States in *Italy* might juſtly fear to rue it. The Earl was ſenſible that the apprehenſions of the *Florentines* were reaſonable; yet his earneſt deſire to perfect an Alliance with the Duke kept him in ſuſpence: and the Duke, who knew how much that deſire ſwayed him, fed him ſtill with hopes; and to reſtrain him from engaging againſt him, let him know that his Daughter vvas now Marriagable, and carrying on matters ſo far, that preparations were made for the Wedding, which yet by ſome Cavils and Delaies was again obſtructed: However, to keep fair, and gain the firmer Credit with the Earl, the Duke added vvorks to his vvords, ſending him Thirty thouſand Florins, which, by the Marriage Contract he vvas to pay him. Still the War grew hotter in *Lombardy*, and the *Venetians* daily loſt ſome Town or other; and all the Veſſels of War that they had ſent up the River, vvere by the Dukes Forces taken; the whole Territory of *Verona* and *Breſcia* by them poſſeſſed, and thoſe two Cities ſo ſtreightly Belieged, that it was generally thought they could not long hold out. The Marquis of *Mantoua*, vvho had many years been General of the Forces of that Republick, even beyond all belief, had forſaken them, and joyned vvith the Duke; ſo, that what their Pride would not let them do in the beginning of the War, their fear made them ſubmit

The War grows hot in *Lombardy*.

ſubmit to in the progreſs of it. For now, ſeeing there vvas no remedy, but engaging the *Florentines* and the Earl, they ſought their Friendſhip. though it were with ſhame and doubt of Succeſs; for they vvere jealous leaſt the *Florentines* ſhould return them the ſame Anſwer they had received from them in the buſineſs of *Lucca*, and concerns of the Earl: But they found them readier than they hoped for, or than their Deportment had deſerved; for hatred to an ancient and inveterate Enemy prevailed in the *Florentines*, above their Reſentments and Anger conceived againſt old and tried Friends: And having long ſince foreſeen the Neceſſities into vvhich the *Venetians* would fall, they had endeavoured to convince the Earl that their Ruine vvould likewiſe be his; and that he deceived himſelf, to believe the Duke vvould eſteem him leſs in his good than evil Fortune; for the reaſon of the Dukes promiſing him his Daughter, being only the fear he ſtood in of him, thoſe things Neceſſity makes men promiſe, it muſt likewiſe make them perform; and therefore it ought to be his deſign ſtill, to keep the Duke in the ſame Neceſſity, which without the *Venetians* greatneſs could not be done. Wherefore he ought to conſider, That if the *Venetians* were driven from the firm Land, he would not only want thoſe Conveniencies he might receive from themſelves, but even thoſe, vvhich all others for fear of them, might

other-

otherwiſe contribute; and if he well conſidered the other States of *Italy*, he vvould find ſome of them poor, and others his Enemies. Nor were the *Florentines* alone (as himſelf had often ſaid) ſufficient to ſupport him; ſo that upon all accounts, it was his main Concern to preſerve the *Venetians* power on the Continent. Theſe perſvvaſions added to the Hate newly conceiv'd by the Earl againſt the Duke, for thinking himſelf mocked in the Alliance, made him conſent to an Agreement; yet would he not be obliged to paſs the River *Po*. Theſe Articles were concluded in *February* 1438, by vvhich the *Venetians* agreed to pay two thirds, and the *Florentines* one third of the Charge; and both bound themſelves to the defence of the Earls Territories in *La Marca*, at their proper Coſts. Neither was the League yet content with theſe Forces, but joyned to themſelves the Lord of *Faenza*, the Sons of Meſſer *Pandolfo de Malateſta de Rimini*, and *Piero Giampagolo Orſino*: but though with large Promiſes they tempted the Marquis of *Mantoua*, yet they could by no means withdraw him from the Dukes Pay and Friendſhip; and the Lords of *Faenza* (after the League had concluded and ſetled their eſtabliſhment) finding a better Bargain, revolted to the Duke; which put the League out of hopes of ſo ſoon diſpatching the Affairs of *Romania*, as they once thought. At this time in great diſtreſs vvas *Lombardy*, for *Breſcia* was ſo

The Venetians, Florentines and Earl Francis make a new Agreement. 1438.

The Diſtreſs of Lombardy.

ſo cloſely beſieged by the Dukes Forces, that all men thought it would be forced through Famine to ſurrender: Nor was *Verona* in any better condition; and in the judgment of moſt men, either of theſe Cities being taken, all further preparations of War would be in vain, and all the expence hitherto made, be loſt. So that now there was no other remedy to be propoſed, but the marching of Earl *Francis* into *Lombardy*: In which there appeared Three main difficulties; Firſt, The diſpoſing the Earl to paſs the *Po*, and proſecute the War every where: In the ſecond place, The *Florentines* were extreamly apprehenſive of being left at the Dukes diſcretion, if the Earl were drawn off from their Aſſiſtance; for the Duke could eaſily retire into his ſtrong holds, and with part of his Army attend the Earls motions, and with the remainder, joyning with their Rebels, come into *Toſcany*; the fear of which extreamly terrified the preſent Government. The third was, Which way the Earl ſhould march to joyn with the reſt of the *Venetian* Forces, which lay in the Country of *Padona*. Of theſe three Difficulties the ſecond which concerned the *Florentines* was the moſt doubtful; yet they ſenſible of the neceſſity, and tired with the *Venetians* importunity, who inceſſantly demanded the Earls Advancing, declaring, That without him they muſt abandon all, ſubmitted the fear and ſuſpicion of their own ſafety to the neceſſities of their Allies.

So

So there now remained only the difficulty of the Way, which was concluded muſt be ſecured by the *Venetians*; and becauſe *Neri di Gino Capponi* had been ſucceſsful in making the Agreement with the Earl, and perſwading him to paſs the *Po*, the Senate thought fit to ſend him Expreſs to *Venice*, to endear this favour to that Senate, and to conſult about the Way, and ſecurity of the Earls paſſage. *Neri* takes his way to *Ceſena*, and from thence by Sea to *Venice*; nor was there ever any Prince received with more Reſpect and Honour by that Senate; for on his coming, and on what by his means they were to order and determine, they thought the Honour and Safety of their Empire depended. *Neri* being admitted into the Senate, addreſſed himſelf to the Duke in this manner: *Thoſe Lords that ſent me (moſt Serene Prince) have ever been of opinion, That the Dukes greatneſs would be the ruine of this State, and of our Commonwealth, and therefore the welfare of both States depends on your Greatneſs and ours; had this been believed by your Lordſhips we ſhould have found our ſelves in a better condition, and your Eſtates would have been ſecured from thoſe dangers which now threaten them; but becauſe in due time you gave no Credit to us, we were made incapable of applying quick Remedies to your Diſaſters, and you of readily demanding them; for you have not ſtudied us either in your Adverſity or Proſperity, nor perhaps do you yet know that it*

Neri Capponi ſent to Venice.

His Speech to the Senate.

it is our temper ſtill to love thoſe we have once loved, and alwaies to hate them againſt whom we have once juſtly conceived a hatred. Be your ſelves the Witneſſes of the love we have ever born this moſt Noble Senate, by the knowledge you have, how, to our own apparent damage, we have often ſent our Forces into Lombardy *to your aſſiſtance and ſuccour; and the whole World can teſtifie the hate we bare* Philip, *and his whole Family: Nor can ſuch ancient Love, and ſo ſetled a Hatred be eaſily cancelled. We were, and are certain, that in this War we might have ſtood Neuters, to the Dukes infinite ſatisfaction, and no great hazard to our ſelves; for though, by your ruine, he ſhould become Lord of all* Lombardy, *yet would the remaining Force of* Italy *be ſufficient to keep us from deſpair; for with Power and Dominion Envy and Enemies increaſe, which are uſually attended with War and deſtruction. We are likewiſe very ſenſible how vaſt an Expence might have been avoided by our declining this War; how many eminent dangers we might have eſcaped: for whereas* Lombardy *is now made the Seat of it, by our aſſiſting you it may be carried into* Toſcany: *Yet our ancient Affection to you has made us baniſh all thoſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions, and we have reſolved with the ſame power and affection to aſſiſt you, as we would defend our ſelves if we were Aſſaulted. Wherefore, My* Lords, *judging it of abſolute neceſſity, before all things, to relieve* Verona *and* Breſcia, *and believing without the Earl*

it

it could not be done, we ſent firſt to perſwade him to paſs the Po, *and make War in all places; for you know he was not obliged to paſs that River; yet have I diſpoſed him to it, prevailing with him by the ſame Reaſons that prevailed over us: And as he ſeems to be invincible in Arms, ſo he will not be overcome in Courteſie, but contends to be the ſuperiour in that Generoſity and Liberality he beholds in us towards you, for he knows well to how many dangers* Toſcany *is expoſed by his drawing thence his Forces: yet ſeeing we have Poſtponed our own ſafety to your relief, he will not prefer any Reſpects or Intereſts of his own before it. I come therefore to offer you the Earl, with ſeven thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Foot, ready to go any where whither you ſhall Command him, to find out your Enemies. I intreat you therefore (and it is alſo both my Lords and His Requeſt) That as the Numbers of his Men exceed what he is obliged to ſerve with, ſo your Liberality will extend to him a proportionable Recompence; that he may not repent his coming into your Service, nor we be ſorry that ever we encouraged him to it.'* This Speech of *Nerli's* to the *Venetian* Senate, was liſtned to with as much Attention as if it had proceeded from an Oracle, and ſo much did his words move the whole Auditory, that not having the patience (according to Cuſtome) to let the Prince return him an Anſwer, they all roſe up, and lifting up their hands with tears of Joy (many of them) in their Eyes,

returned thanks to the *Florentines* for ſo friendly an Aſſiſtance, and to him for having with ſuch ſpeed and celerity diſpatched it; promiſing, That no proceſs of time ſhould ever blot the memory of it out of theirs, or the hearts of their Poſterity; but that their Country ſhould be in Common to the *Florentines* and them. Theſe Kindneſſes and Congratulations ended, they began to Conſult what way the Earl had beſt March, that Bridges might be erected, Paſſages levelled, and other Securities provided. Four Waies were propoſed; one from *Ravenna* along the Sea-ſide, but this being narrow, and ſtreightned by the Fenns and Mariſhes, was not approved: The next was by the Direct way; but that was impeached by a Tower called *Vecellino*, kept for the Duke, which muſt of neceſſity be won before paſſage could be had, and that was hard to do in ſo ſhort a time; for the leaſt delay might rob them of an Opportunity of relieving their Cities, which above any thing required haſte and diligence: The third was by the Woods of *Lugo*; but becauſe the *Po* had o'reſwell'd its Banks, that Paſſage was made not only difficult but impoſſible. There remained only the fourth, which was by the Champion of *Bolonia*, and ſo paſſing at *Ponte Puledrano*, at *Cento* and at *Pieue*, march between *Finale* and *Bondeno* to *Ferrara*, from whence, by Land and Water, they might eaſily Tranſport themſelves into the Country of *Padoua*, and joyn with the

the *Venetian* Forces: though there was in this Way many difficulties, and poſſibly ſome Paſſes might be Guarded by the Enemies Forces, yet, as leſs dangerous than any of the reſt, it was pitcht upon; which was no ſooner ſignified to the Earl but with admirable celerity he Advances, and on the 20 of *June* came into the Country of *Padoua*. The coming of this Captain into *Italy* gave ſuch Courage to the *Venetians*, and all their Subjects, that whereas before they deſpaired of their own Safety; they began now to think of Conquering others. *Sforza comes into Italy.*

The Earl in the firſt place marches to the Releif of *Verona*, to ſtop whoſe paſſage *Nicholas* with his Army advances to *Soave*, a Caſtle ſeated between the Territories of *Vicenza* and *Verona*, and encompaſſed with a Ditch cut from *Soave* to the Mariſhes of *Adice*: the Earl perceiving his paſſage through the Plain thus impeached, thought he might yet paſs the Mountain way, and ſo get between his Enemy and *Verona*, imagining, that either *Nicholas* would not believe he would adventure that way, being ſo rough and craggy, or when he did believe it, it would be too late to ſtop him; and having provided eight daies Provitions, advances with his whole Army over the Mountains, and arrives under *Soave* in the Plain: for though *Nicholas* had fortified ſome Poſts, and raiſed ſome Bulwarks to impeach his paſſage this Way, yet the Works and Guards, as not much regarded,

proved too weak to withſtand him. *Nicholas* therefore ſeeing his Enemy, contrary to all imagination, got into the Plain, that he might not be forced to fight upon diſadvantage, retreated on the other ſide the *Adice*, and the Earl without any oppoſition enters *Verona*. The Earl proving thus ſucceſsful in his firſt Attempt, and with ſo much eaſe raiſing the Seige of *Verona*, the next thing to be undertaken was the relief of *Breſcia*. The City is ſo well ſeated upon the Lake of *Garda*, that though it be blocked up by Land, it may ſtill be ſupplied with Proviſions by Water; which had made the Duke, with ſeveral ſtrong Parties, fortifie himſelf upon the Lake, and in the commencement of his Victories, had garriſoned all thoſe Towns that might ſend *Breſcia* any Relief by the Lake. The *Venetians* likewiſe had Gallies there, but not of ſtrength enough to oppoſe the Duke. The Earl therefore judged it requiſite, with his Army on Land to aſſiſt thoſe Forces on the Water; for, by their joynt power, he was in hopes he might eaſily win the Battle; he encamped therefore againſt *Badilino*, a Caſtle ſeated upon the Lake, hoping, if he took that, the others would ſurrender. The Earl in this Enterprize found Fortune averſe to him, for here great numbers of his Souldiers fell ſick, ſo that forced to raiſe his Siege he retreated to *Zmo*, a Caſtle of *Verona*, a place both plentiful and healthful. *Nicholas* ſeeing the Earl retired, to the

the end he might not let ſlip this opportunity of making himſelf Lord of the Lake, leaves his Camp at *Vegoſia*, and with a ſelect Party goes to the Lake, where with great Courage and fury he aſſaults the *Venetian* Fleet, and took almoſt all of them: After which Victory, moſt of the Caſtles remaining on the Lake ſurrendred to him. The *Venetians* terrified at theſe Loſſes, and fearing leaſt *Breſcia* ſhould yeild alſo, by Meſſengers and Letters earneſtly ſolicited the Earl to its releif. And the Earl perceiving all hopes of releiving it by the Lake cut off, and that by the Champion way it was impoſſible (by reaſon of the Trenches, Ditches, Baſtions and Bulwarks, raiſed by *Nicholas*,) amongſt which entring againſt an Enemies Army he hazarded a manifeſt defeat and loſs, he determined by the way of the Mountains, as he had ſaved *Verona*, ſo to ſuccour *Breſcia*. The Earl having formed this deſign, Decamps from *Zemo*, and by the Vale of *Acri* Marches to the Vale of St. *Andrea*, and comes to *Torboli* and *Penda*, on the Lake of *Garda*, thence to *Tenna*, for to reach *Breſcia* he muſt of neceſſity take that Caſtle: *Nicholas* having intelligence of the Earls intention, draws off his Army to *Peſchiera*, and thence, with the Marquis of *Mantona*, and ſome Choſen men of his own, goes to face the Earl; whom engaging with he was defeated, his Army (quite broken and diſordered) put to flight, many of his Men taken, and the reſt eſcaping, part to the *Nicholas Piccinino defeated*

Camp, and part to the Gallies. *Nicholas* ſaved himſelf in *Tenna*, but night being come on, he began to imagine, that if he ſtaid there till break of Day, 'twould be impoſſible but he muſt fall into the Enemies hands; ſo to avoid a certain danger, he adventured a very doubtful one. Of all his Men *Nicholas* had none now with him but one Servant a *German*, of very great ſtrength of Body, and who had ever been very faithful to him: This Man *Nicholas* perſwaded to put him in a Sack, and throwing him on his ſhoulders, as if he were carrying ſome Forrage for his Maſter, convey him to ſome place of ſafety. The Camp lay ſtill round about *Tenna*; but overjoyed with their Victory the day before, were in great diſorder, and very negligent of their Guards; ſo that it was eaſie for the *German* to ſecure his Maſter; for having laid him on his ſhoulders, and being clad like a Porter, he paſſed without any ſtop through the whole Camp, and brought him ſafely to his own Men. Had this Victory been as diligently proſecuted, as it was fortunately won, it might have proved of greater advantage to *Breſcia*, and more happy to the *Venetians*: But the true uſe not being made of it, the joy was ſoon blown over, and *Breſcia* remained in the ſame diſtreſs as before: For *Nicholas* being returned to his Camp, began to contrive with himſelf, how by ſome ſucceſsful Exploit he might wipe off the ſtain of his late defeat, and deprive the

Piccinino's ſtrange eſcape.

the *Venetians* of all means to releive *Breſcia*. He knew very well the ſcituation of the Cittadel of *Verona*, and by ſome Priſoners by him taken in that War, had underſtood both how ſlenderly it was Guarded, and in what manner it might eaſily be ſurprized. Wherefore he imagined that Fortune preſented him with an opportunity to regain his Honour; and convert the Enemies Joy for their late Victory, into Grief for a more conſiderable Loſs. The City of *Verona* is ſeated in *Lombardy*, at the foot of thoſe Mountains that divide *Italy* and *Germany*, ſo that the City partakes ſomewhat both of the Plain and Mountain; the River *Adice* ſpringing out of the Vale of *Trent*, at its entrance into *Italy*, diſtends not it ſelf immediately through the Plain, but turning to the left hand along the ſide of the Mountain, finds out this City, and paſſes through the middle of it; not that it divides both parts equally, for it leaves a much greater proportion on the ſide of the Plain, than of the Mountain: On the part towards the Mountain are two Caſtles, one called St. *Peters*, and the other St. *Felice*, which are ſtronger by Nature than by Art, and being ſeated very high, Command the whole City. On the Plain on this ſide *Adice*, and upon the Walls of the Town are two other Fortreſſes, diſtant the one from the other about a thouſand paces, one of which is called the Old, and the other the New Cittadel; from one of theſe to the other, within

The ſcituation of *Verona*.

the City, is a Wall built which looks like a ſtring to the Bow made by the ordinary Walls of the City, and all the ſpace between one and the other is filled with Inhabitants, and called *Burgo de* St. *Zeno*. Theſe Cittadels, and this *Burgh Nicholas* deſigned to ſurprize, which he thought might eaſily be done, as well becauſe of the uſual negligence of the Guards, as beleiving the late Victory had made them more careleſs, well knowing that no enterprize in War ſucceeds better than that, which the Enemy is confident you cannot compaſs, or dare not attempt: Having therefore choſen out a ſtrong Party, he (with the Marquis of *Mantona*) goes by Night to *Verona*, and without being diſcovered, Scales and takes the new Cittadel, and from thence with his Infantry entring the Town, breaks open the Gates of St. *Antonio*, to give admiſſion to his Horſe. Thoſe who for the *Venetians* had the Guard of the Old Cittadel, hearing firſt a noiſe, when the Guards of the New Cittadel were ſlain, and after, when the Gate was broke open, knowing they were Enemies, rung out the Bell, and ſounded an Alarum; which the Citizens hearing, were all in amazement and confuſion; and thoſe who had moſt Courage took Arms, and ran to the Rectors or Governours Palace. *Nicholas*'s Party had in the mean time ſackt the Borough of St. *Zeno*, and proceeding forward; the Citizens finding the Dukes Forces were got into the City, and perceiving no way

Piccinino ſurprizes Verona.

way how to defend themſelves, adviſed the *Venetian* Governours to retreat into the Fortreſſes, and ſave both their Perſons, and the City; declaring, It was much better for them to ſave their own Lives, and preſerve the Riches of the City to a more fortunate Conjuncture, than by oppoſing the preſent fury, die themſelves, and impoveriſh the Town for ever. Whereupon the *Rectors* or Governours, and all *Venetians* whatſoever, took the Caſtle of St. *Felice* for their Refuge; after which the Chief Citizens went to find out *Nicholas*, and the Marquis of *Mantona*; beſeeching them, that they would rather with Honour enjoy that City rich and flouriſhing, than to their own Infamy ſuffer it to be made poor and miſerable; eſpecially, ſince from their former Maſters they had not deſerved thanks, nor from them hate for defending themſelves. They were both by *Nicholas* and the Marquis comforted, and as much as poſſibly they could (in that heat of Military Licenſe) the City ſaved from ſpoil. And, becauſe they were aſſured that the Earl would endeavour the recovery of the City, they ſtrove with all imaginable Art and induſtry to get the ſtrong places into their hands, and thoſe they could not they began to divide from the Town with Works and Trenches, that the Enemy might have no entrance from thence. Count *Francis* was at *Tenna* when the firſt News of this ſurprize was brought him, and he look upon

upon it at firſt as an idle Story; but when by more certain intelligence he underſtood it to be real Truth, he determined with diligence and expedition to repair ſo great a Neglect; and though moſt of his principal Officers adviſed him, that leaving both *Verona* and *Breſcia* to themſelves, he ſhould make an Attempt upon *Vicenza*, that he might not by ſtaying here be beſieged by his Enemies; yet he would not conſent, but reſolved to make tryal of his Fortune in the recovery of that City, and turning in the midſt of theſe doubts and ſuſpenſions to the *Venetian* Proveditors, and to *Bernardetto de Medici*, who was Commiſſary for the *Florentines*, he promiſed them certainly to regain the City if but one Caſtle held out. Putting therefore his Army in order, with unexpreſſible Celerity he marches towards *Verona*; upon advice of which *Nicholas* beleived, that (as his Officers had before adviſed) he was deſigned for *Vicenza*, but ſeeing him turn his Front towards the Town, and march directly up to the Caſtle of St. *Felice*, he began to give orders for Defence; but all too late; for the Trenches and Works were not yet finiſhed, and the Souldiers out of greedineſs of the Spoil, were all divided and in diſorder: nor could they be drawn together ſoon enough to make Head againſt the Earls Forces before they had reached the Caſtle; by which they deſcended into the City, and moſt happily, to the great ſhame

Earl Francis recovers *Verona*.

ſhame and diſgrace of *Nicholas*, and his whole Party repoſſeſſed it. *Nicholas*, together with the Marquis of *Mantoua*, fled firſt into the Cittadel, and afterwards into the Plains of *Mantoua*; where rallying the remains of their ſhattered Forces, they went and again joyned themſelves with the Camp at *Breſcia*. Thus was *Verona* in the ſpace of four daies both taken and loſt by the Ducal Army. After this Victory Winter being ſomewhat advanced, and the Seaſon very Cold, the Earl having with much danger and difficulty ſupplyed *Breſcia* with Proviſions, took up his Quarters at *Verona*, and gave Order that ſome Galleys ſhould be built at *Torboli*, to the end, that by the firſt of the Spring he might be ſtrong enough both by Land and Water to relieve *Breſcia*. The Duke perceiving the War here at a ſtand, and his hopes of becoming Maſter of *Breſcia* and *Verona* utterly cut off, and all this occaſioned by the *Florentine* Mony and Councils, whom, ſince neither the Injuries received from the *Venetians* could provoke, nor the large Promiſes he had made them perſwade, to alienate their Amity from that Republick, he reſolved (that they might nearer home reap the fruit of thoſe ſeeds they had ſown) to invade *Toſcany*; to which he was both by *Nicholas*, and the Baniſhed *Florentines*, encouraged; the firſt moved to it out of a deſire to ſeize the Eſtates of *Braccio*, and drive the Earl out of *La Marca*; the other out of hopes to be re-

reſtored to their Country; and each had urged the Duke by the moſt preſſing Arguments they could invent, to comply with their Deſires. *Nicholas* told him, that he might both ſend him into *Toſcany*, and ſtill maintain the Seige at *Breſcia*: for being Lord of the Lake, and his Camp towards the Land well fortified and furniſhed with all ſtores of War, having likewiſe other Captains and Souldiers to oppoſe the Earl; ſhould he attempt any other Deſign, which would be almoſt a madneſs to do, till he had releived *Breſcia*, and the Releif of it was in a manner impoſſible: So that he might both wage War in *Toſcany*, and ſtill continue it in *Lombardy*. Beſides, the *Florentines* would be conſtrained, as ſoon as he was entred their Territories, either to call home the Earl or be loſt, and which ſoever of theſe things happened gave him a certain Victory. The Baniſhed *Florentines* alleadged; That as ſoon as *Nicholas* ſhould with his Army draw nigh to *Florence*, it was impoſſible but the People, quite tired with heavy Taxes, and the more burthenſome Inſolence of their Great men, would take up Arms againſt their Magiſtrates; and, That the approaches were eaſie to *Florence*, and the way open by *Caſentino*, by means of the Friendſhip between that Earl and *Rinaldo de Albizi:* Inſomuch that the Duke being before inclined to it, was by their perſwaſions fully confirmed. Mean while the *Venetians*, though it were a very bitter Winter,

The Duke deſigns to invade Toſcany.

Winter, left not off ſoliciting the Earl to relieve *Breſcia* with his whole Army; in which the Earl denyed to comply with them, as a thing not to be done till Spring, and in that time they might get a Fleet in readineſs, and ſuccour them both by Water and Land. But at this the *Venetians* were diſguſted, and ſlackned their Proviſions, ſo that their Army began to waſt away. All which things being certainly known to the *Florentines*, extreamly diſmayed them, ſeeing the War brought to their own doors, and little good done in *Lombardy*: nor were they leſs perplexed with the Jealouſies they had conceived of the Forces of the Church; not that the Pope was then their Enemy, but that the Patriarch, who had more Command in that Army than the Pope himſelf, bore them a deadly Hatred. This was *John Vetteleſchi Cornettano*, firſt Apoſtolick Notary, then Biſhop of *Ricanati*, afterwards made *Patriarch of Alexandria*, and at laſt Cardinal, with the Title of *Cardinal of Florence*. This Man was both Couragious and Crafty, and knew ſo well how to play his game, that he was extreamly beloved by the Pope, and by him made General of all the Churches Forces, and Commanded in Chief in all the Popes Wars in *Toſcany*, *Romania* the Kingdom, and at *Rome*: whereby he got ſuch power in the Army, and over the Pope, that the laſt was afraid to Command, the firſt would Obey none but the Cardinal being with his Forces

The *Florentines* in great fear of the *Patriarch*.

Forces in *Rome*, at the time that the Rumour was ſpread abroad, that *Nicholas* deſigned to invade *Toſcany*, redoubled the *Florentines* Fears; the Cardinal having ever ſince *Rinaldo*'s baniſhment been a profeſt Enemy of their State, becauſe the agreement made in *Florence* by his intermiſſion was not obſerved, but rather managed to *Rinaldo*'s prejudice, being the occaſion of his laying down Arms, and giving his Enemies the power of expelling him. So that the Heads of the State were fearful the time was now come of repairing *Rinaldo*'s damages, if he joyned with *Nicholas* in the Invaſion of *Toſcany*. And they were the more doubtful of it, becauſe they imagined *Nicholas*'s preſent departure out of *Lombardy* very unſeaſonable, leaving a Conqueſt almoſt perfected, for a very uncertain and doubtful one, which they could not believe, without ſome hidden intelligence, or ſecret intrigue, he would ever do. Of theſe their Suſpitions they advertiſed the Pope, who was already ſenſible of his Errour in giving too much Authority to others. But whilſt the *Florentines* were in this ſuſpence, Fortune ſhewed them the way how they might ſecure themſelves againſt the Cardinal. This Republick kept in all places very diligent Spies to ſearch all Letters carried too and fro, that they might the better diſcover any Co[illegible] againſt their State. It happened t[illegible] *Pulciano* ſome Letters were [illegible] the

Patriarch, without the Popes conſent, had written to *Nicholas Piccinino*; and although they were written in unuſual Characters, and the matter ſo knotty and implicate, that no certain ſenſe could be made of them, yet that obſcurity, joyned with the practices of the Enemy, ſo affrighted the Pope, that he determined to provide for his own ſafety, and committed the Charge of the Affair to *Antonio Rido* of *Padoua*, then Governour of the Caſtle of *Rome*. He having his Commiſſion, prepared to put it in Execution as ſoon as opportunity preſented. The Patriarch had deſigned to go into *Toſcany*, and being the next day to depart *Rome*, he ſent to the Governour, that on the Morning early he ſhould meet him on the Caſtle-Bridge, for he had ſomething to diſcourſe with him. *Antonio* thought now his opportunity was offered, and having given inſtructions to his Guards, at the time waits for the Patriarch on the Bridge, which being very near the Caſtle, for the more ſecurity of it had a Drawbridge in the middle, which, as ſoon as the Patriarch was paſt, ſtopping there to diſcourſe with him, he made a ſign to his Men to pull up the Bridge; ſo that the Patriarch in an inſtant, from General of an Army was become Priſoner to the Governour of a Fortreſs. The People that followed him began at firſt to make a Tumult; but underſtanding it was the Popes pleaſure, they were pacified. And the Governour com-

The Patriarch impriſoned.

comforting the Patriarch with kind and Courteous ſpeeches, giving him hopes all would be well; He anſwered, *That Great men were never taken to be let looſe again; for thoſe who deſerved not to be impriſoned, did not deſerve to be ſet at liberty*; and ſo, ſoon after he died in Priſon. After whoſe death the Pope appointed *Lodovick*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, General of the Forces; and having hitherto refuſed to concern himſelf in the Wars between the League and the Duke, he was now content to become a Party, and promiſed to be in a readineſs, for the defence of *Toſcany*, with 4000 Horſe, and 2000 Foot. Thus were the *Florentines* rid of this fear; yet ſtill the fear of *Nicholas* remained, by reaſon of the confuſion of the Affairs of *Lombardy*, and differences of Opinion between the *Venetians* and the Earl. Wherefore, to beget a right underſtanding, they ſent *Neri di Gino Capponi*, and *Giulian d'Avanzati* to *Venice*, giving them Commiſſion to conclude how the War ſhould be managed the year enſuing; and to *Neri* they gave farther Order, that having underſtood the minds of the *Venetians*, he ſhould go to the Earl to know his, and to perſwade him to ſuch things as might be advantagious to the League, and neceſſary for their ſafety. Theſe Ambaſſadours were ſcarce got to *Ferrara*, but they had intelligence that *Nicholas Piccinino* with [illegible] Horſe was paſſed the *Po*, which made them haſten all they could, and being come to *Venice*, they

The Patriarch dies.

they found that whole Senate reſolute, that *Breſcia* ſhould without any delay be relei-
ved; for, that the City was not able to hold out till Spring, or till a Navy were built; but if they found they had no other relyance, would yeild, which would make the Duke abſolutely Victorious, and all their Territories on the main Land would be utterly loſt. Whereupon *Neri* goes to *Verona* to hear what the Earl could alleadge againſt it; who demonſtrated by ſolid Reaſons, That the marching his Army in that Seaſon towards *Breſcia* would be to no purpoſe for the preſent, and a future impeachment of the deſign; for both in regard to the Time and Situation, they could do *Breſcia* no good but only diſorder and tire his Army; ſo that when Spring came that was fit for Action, he muſt be forced to return to *Verona* for a ſupply of things neceſſary for the Service, which would be vainly conſumed in Winter, and ſo all the time proper for War would be ſpent in going and coming. There were with the Earl to Conſult of theſe things at *Verona*, Meſſer *Orſatto Juſtiniani*, and Meſſer *John Piſani* with them; after many Diſputes, it was concluded, That the *Venetians* for the ſucceeding year ſhould give the Earl 80000 Ducats, and to their other Souldiers forty Ducats each, and that they ſhould ſolicite, that they might with the whole Army take the field, and fall upon the Dukes Territories, that in fear of his own Eſtates

The Venetians reſolved on the Releif of Breſcia.

The Earls Reaſons againſt it.

he might recall *Nicholas* out of *Toſcany*. Upon this Concluſion they returned to *Venice*. The *Venetians* (the ſum of Mony being ſo great) provided all things ſlowly. In the mean time *Nicholas Piccinino* proceeded on his Voyage, and had already reached *Romania*, where he had ſo far wrought with the Sons of *Pandolfo Malateſta*, that deſerting the *Venetians* they joyned with the Duke. This revolution much diſpleaſed *Venice*, but more *Florence*, who were in hopes, by that way, to make ſome reſiſtance againſt *Nicholas*; but ſeeing the *Malateſti* rebelled, they were diſmayed, principally becauſe they feared leaſt their Captain *Pierogiampaolo Orſino* ſhould be routed and rifled, and they thereby left diſarmed. Nor did this News leſs daunt the Earl, who was afraid, by *Nicholas*'s Invaſion of *Toſcany*, he ſhould loſe *La Marca*; and deſirous to ſave his own Eſtates he comes to *Venice*, and being introduced into the Senate he declared, *How that an Expedition into* Toſcany *would be advantagious to the whole League; for the War was to be proſecuted where the General and Army of the Enemy lay, and not where his Towns and Caſtles ſtood; for by defeating the Army the War is brought to an iſſue, but by taking Towns, and leaving the Army intire, the War oftentimes breaks out the fiercer:* Aſſirming, *That* La Marca *and* Toſcany *were both loſt, if* Nicholas *were not bravely oppoſed, and they once in the Enemies hands, there*

The *Malateſti* deſert the *Venetians*, and joyn with the Duke.

Sforſa's Speech to the Senate at *Venice*.

there was no remedy but Lombardy *muſt needs follow; but though a remedy might be found to prevent it, he did not underſtand why he ſhould abandon his own Subjects, and his own Friends; for he came into* Lombardy *a Lord, and would not return thence a private Leader.* To all which the Prince replyed: *That it was apparent that if he once with his Army went out of* Lombardy, *nay if he did but repaſs the* Po, *all their Eſtates on the main were loſt; nor would they be at any farther expence to defend them: for he can't be thought wiſe who attempts to defend a thing he is certain to loſe; and the infamy is leſs to loſe Eſtate only, than Eſtate and Mony too; but when their Dominion was once extirpate, 'twould ſoon be diſcovered of what importance the* Venetian *Reputation was to the ſupport of* Romania *and* Toſcany: *And therefore they were of a quite different opinion to his; for they believed, that whoe're o'recame in* Lombardy *would o'recome elſewhere, and the Conqueſt now was eaſie, the Dukes Eſtates being by* Nicholas's *departure left ſo weak, that they may be paſt repair before he ſhall or can recal* Nicholas, *or provide other Remedies. That whoever examined the bottom of things would find, that the Dukes ſole end in ſending* Nicholas *into* Toſcany, *was to draw the Earl from* Lombardy, *and remove the ſeat of the War from his own houſe elſewhere: So that if the Earl followed him (unleſs upon an extream neceſſity) he would have the glory to ſee his deſigns accompliſhed, and his intentions* The Senates Reply.

tions brought to effect; but if they maintained the Army in Lombardy, *and made the beſt proviſion they could in* Toſcany, *he would diſcern his miſtake too late, when he had utterly loſt* Lombardy, *and Conquered nothing in* Toſcany. Thus every one having ſaid, and replyed according to his Opinion, they concluded to attend patiently ſome daies to diſcover what might be the effects of the *Malateſti's* Agreement with *Nicholas*; and if *Pierogiampagolo* might yet do the *Florentines* any Service, and whether the Pope would be ſtedfaſt to the League as he had promiſed. Some few daies after this Concluſion, intelligence was brought, that the *Malateſti* had made that Agreement more for fear than any evil intention; that *Pierogiampagolo* was marched towards *Toſcany* with his Forces, and that the Pope teſtified more alacrity to aſſiſt the League than at firſt; which Advice ſetled the Earls mind, and he was content to ſtay in *Lombardy*, and that *Neri Capponi* ſhould return to *Florence* with 1000 of his Horſe, and 500 others: And if things fell out ſo that there was a neceſſity of the Earls preſence, he ſhould but write, and he leaving all things elſe would go. So *Neri* with his Forces came to *Florence* in *April*, and the ſame day arrived there likewiſe *Giampagolo*. Mean while *Nicholas Piccinino* having ſetled Affairs in *Romagna*, deſigned to make a deſcent into *Toſcany*, and intending to paſs by the Alps of St. *Bennet*, and the Valley of

Mon-

Montone, he found that paſſage ſo well guarded by the Valour of *Nicholas da Piſa*, that he thought all his ſtrength would be too feeble to force it. The *Florentines* upon this ſudden Invaſion being unprovided both of Souldiers and Leaders, had ſent ſeveral of their Citizens with Foot, levyed in haſte to guard thoſe Paſſes of the *Alps*, among whom was *Bartholomew Orlandini* Kt. to whom was conſigned the guard of the Caſtle of *Marradi*, and that paſs of the *Alps*: *Nicholas Piccinino* perceiving he could not force the paſs of St. *Bennet*, becauſe of the Valour of the Guardian, thought he might eaſily gain that of *Marradi*, becauſe of the Cowardize of the Man appointed to defend it. *Marradi* is a Caſtle ſeated at the foot of thoſe *Alps* that divide *Toſcany* and *Romania*; but on that part looking towards *Romania*, and in the beginning of the Vale of *Lamona*, though it be without a Wall, yet the River, the Mountain and the Inhabitants make it ſtrong: for the Men are Warlike and faithful, and the River has ſo worn into the Land, and made ſuch deep Caves and holes, that by the way of the Vale it is impoſſible to approach it if a little Bridge be defended; and on the Mountain ſide it is ſo ſteep and craggy, that it renders it very ſtrong, and eaſily defenſible: Yet the Cowardize of Meſſer *Bartholomew* made thoſe men Cowhearted too, and the Caſtle ſeem weak and defenceleſs; for no ſooner heard he a Rumour of the Enemies approach,

but abandoning all this ſtrength, he fled away with his Men, and never ſtopt till he came to *Borgo St. Lorenzo*. *Nicholas* entring the deſerted places full of wonder that they were not defended, and alacrity that he had gained them, paſſes forward into *Mugello*, where he takes ſeveral Caſtles, and at *Pulliciano* ſits down with his Army, from whence he overruns, and forrages all the Country as far as the Mountains of *Fieſole*, and grew ſo bold, that he paſſed the *Arno*, ſpoiling and deſtroying the Country within three Miles of *Florence*. Yet were not the *Florentines* diſmayed, but firſt of all applied themſelves to ſetling the Government, of which they had little reaſon to doubt, ſo much good-will the Citizens bore *Coſmo*; and beſides the prime Offices of the City were reduced into the hands of a few potent Citizens, who with their ſeverity bridled thoſe who were any way diſcontented, or deſirous of Novelty; they had likewiſe underſtood with what Forces *Neri*, by the Agreement in *Lombardy*, was to return; and in like manner were in expectation of the Popes Troops, which hopes till *Neri*'s return kept them in heart; who finding the City in theſe diſorders reſolved to draw forth the Army, and ſo far awe *Nicholas* that he ſhould not dare ſo freely to ranſack the Country; and drawing a body of Foot out of the People, with thoſe Horſe he had, he marches out and retakes *Remoli* which the Enemy had garriſoned; where encamping, he

Nicholas Piccinino enters and ſpoils the *Florentine* Territories.

he prevented *Nicholas*'s Incurſions, and put the Citizens in hopes that the Enemy would be forced to remove farther from their Walls. *Nicholas* ſeeing that at what time the *Florentines* were without any Force in the City no Tumult nor Commotion happened, and underſtanding how quietly and ſecurely they lived within, thought it in vain to loſe more time, but reſolved on ſome other Attempt, that ſo the *Florentines* ſending their Forces after him he might neceſſitate them to come to a Battle; in which, if he had the better, he doubted not but all things elſe would ſucceed proſperouſly and well. There was in *Nicholas*'s Army *Francis* Earl of *Poppi*, who when the Enemy lay in *Mugello*, revolted from the *Florentines*, with whom he was before in League. And though they having ſome ſuſpicions of him, to engage his fidelity had increaſed his Pay, and made him Governour of all their Towns adjacent to his: Yet ſo powerful is the love of Factions in men, that no advantage nor fear could make him forget the affection he bore Meſſer *Rinaldo*, and thoſe who had formerly governed the State; wherefore no ſooner heard he of *Nicholas*'s approach, but he joyned with him, and with all earneſtneſs ſolicited him to withdraw from the City, and march into *Caſentino*, ſetting forth the ſtrength of the place, and how he might with eaſe from thence ſtreighten his Enemies. *Nicholas* follows his Advice, and being come into

Caſentino, takes *Romeno* and *Bibiena*, and then laies Siege to the Caſtle of St. *Nicholas*. This Caſtle is ſeated at the foot of thoſe Hills which divide *Caſentino* from the Vale of *Arno*, which ſtanding high, and having within a ſtrong Garriſon, made a ſtout reſiſtance; notwithſtanding *Nicholas* with Engines throwing Stones, and other ſuch Artillery, continually battered it. This ſiege had continued for above twenty daies; during which, the *Florentines* endeavoured to draw together their Forces, and had already aſſembled, under ſeveral Captains, 3000 Horſe, Commanded by *Pierogiampagolo* as General, and *Neri Capponi* and *Bernardo de Medici* as Commiſſaries. To theſe came four Meſſengers from the Caſtle of St. *Nicholas* to beſeech them to relieve them: the Commiſſaries having well examined the ſcituation of the place, found there was no way to bring them Releif, but by the Mountains which aſcend from the Vale of *Arno*, the tops of which would be poſſeſſed by the Enemies Forces before theirs could reach them, they having the ſhorter way, and theſe having no means to conceal their coming: whereupon the Commiſſaries prailing their fidelity, gave them Orders when they could no longer hold out, to ſurrender. So *Nicholas* took the Caſtle in two and thirty daies, and the loſing ſo much time for ſo ſmall a purchaſe was, in a great meaſure, the occaſion of the loſs of his whole buſineſs; for had he continued with his

The Siege of St. *Nicholas* Caſtle.

his Army near *Florence*, he had put thoſe which governed the City to great ſtreights, who muſt with more Caution have ſtrained Mony from the People, with more difficulty have raiſed Men, or indeed made any other proviſion whilſt the Enemy was on the backs of them, than when he was farther off; and perhaps many might have been inclinable to have ſecured themſelves from *Nicholas* by Peace, ſince they were not able to do it by War. But the deſire Count *Poppi* had to revenge himſelf of ſome Governours of Caſtles, had for a long time been his Enemies, made him give this Counſel; and for his ſatisfaction only *Nicholas* followed it, which proved the ruine both of the one and the other: And 'tis very rare that private Paſſion does not prove the impeachment of publick good. *Nicholas* purſuing his Victory, takes *Raſſina* and *Chiuſi*. In theſe parts Count *Poppi* perſwaded him to ſtay, demonſtrating, how he might, by diſperſing his Forces in *Chiuſi*, *Caſtreſe* and *La Piene*, become Lord of the Mountains, and at pleaſure make his deſcents into *Caſentino*, and into the Vales of *Arno*, *Chiana* and *Teveri*, attending every motion of the Enemy; but *Nicholas* conſidering the roughneſs and craggineſs of the place, told him, *That his Horſes could not eat ſtones*, and ſo went thence to *Borgo St. Sepolchro*, where he found a kind reception. Whilſt he was here, he made trial to gain the freindſhip of the Citizens of *Caſtelo*, but they

they being friends to the *Florentines* would not hearken to him. Then being deſirous to have the *Perugians* at his devotion, he went with forty Horſe to *Perugia*, where being their Citizen he was honourably received, but in few daies they grew jealous of him; and he treated many things with the Legate, and with the *Perugians*, but perfected nothing: So receiving from them 8000 Ducats he returned to his Army. Next he drove a deſign how to get *Cortona* from the *Florentines*; but the Plot being diſcovered before Execution of it, all came to nothing. Among the Cheif Citizens of that City was *Bartholomew Senſo*; he going, by Order of the Governour, to take Charge of the Guard at one of the Gates, was by a Country-man, his Friend, deſired not to go unleſs he had a mind to be killed; whereupon *Bartholomew* would needs know the meaning and depth of the Advice, and thereby underſtood all the Circumſtances of the Plot, which he revealed to the Governour; who having ſecured the cheif of the Conſpirators, doubles the Guards at the Gates, and ſtaies expecting according to the Appointment made, that *Nicholas* ſhould come; who comes by Night at the aſſigned hour, but finding he was diſcovered retreats to his Quarters. Whilſt theſe things were agitating in *Toſcany* to the Dukes ſmall advantage, *Lombardy* was not at quiet to his great damage and loſs; for as ſoon as the Seaſon permitted, Earl *Francis*

Nicholas's deſign to ſurprize Cortona diſcover'd.

Francis draws his Army into the Field, and the *Venetians* having prepared a Navy on the Lake, he reſolves firſt of all to make himſelf Maſter of the Water, judging if that were done other things would eaſily follow. Wherefore with the *Venetian* Fleet he makes an aſſault upon the Dukes, overcomes them, and takes all the Caſtles that were garriſoned by *Philip*: whereupon the Ducal Forces, which by Land beſieged *Breſcia*, hearing the News of theſe Loſſes drew off, and thus after three years Siege *Breſcia* was relieved. In purſuit of this Victory the Earl follows his Enemies, who were retreated to *Soncino*, a Caſtle on the River *Oglio*, diſlodges them, and makes them retreat to *Cremona*, where the Duke made Head, and on that part defended his Eſtates. But the Earl ſtreightning him every day more and more, fearful to loſe part or all of his Eſtates, he began to be ſenſible of his unadviſedneſs in ſending *Nicholas* into *Toſcany*, and to correct his errour he writ to *Nicholas*, letting him know in what condition his Affairs were, and upon what tottering terms he ſtood, and therefore deſiring him that leaving *Toſcany* he would with all ſpeed repair into *Lombardy*. During this interval, the *Florentines* having aſſembled all their Forces and joyned with the Popes, made Head at *Anghiari*, a Caſtle ſeated at the foot of thoſe Mountains that divide the Vale of *Tevere* and the Vale of *Chiana*, diſtant from the Borough of St. *Sepulchro* four

Earl *Francis* raiſes the Siege of *Breſcia*.

Nicholas Piccinino recalled by the Duke.

four Miles, a level ground fit for Horſe Service, and indeed apt for all Actions of War: But becauſe the *Florentines* had intelligence of the Earls Victories, and of the revocation of *Nicholas*, they thought the work already done before they drew their Swords; wherefore they wrote to their Commiſſaries that they ſhould wave the Engagement, for *Nicholas* could not ſtay many daies in *Toſcany*. This Commiſſion coming to *Nicholas*'s knowledge, and ſeeing the neceſſity of his departure, that he might leave no ſtone unturned, he determined they ſhould fight, beleiving he might find them unprovided and out of order, as not deſigning a Battle; to which he was encouraged by Meſſer *Rinaldo*, Count *Poppi*, and other Baniſhed *Florentines*, who beheld their own manifeſt ruine if *Nicholas* went thence; but by engaging him to a Battle they were in hopes either to gain the day, or loſe themſelves honourably. Having thus reſolved, the Army advanced between the Cities of *Caſtello* and the *Borough*, and being come to the Borough, without their Enemies having any notice; they took from that Town 2000 Men, who confiding in the Valour and Promiſes of the General, and withal greedy of Spoil, followed him. Thence in Battalia *Nicholas* marches directly towards *Anghiari*, and was come within leſs than two Miles, when *Michaeletto Attenduli* eſpied a great Duſt, and conceiving it muſt be the Enemy, gives the Alarum. The Tumult

mult was great in the *Florentine* Camp; for they generally encamping without any Diſcipline, to their diſorder, Negligence was now added; for they not only beleived their Enemy at a great diſtance from them, but that he rather was intent upon flight than fight; ſo that every one was diſarmed and wandring from their Tents, whither either their fancy, or the coolneſs of the ſhade led them: yet ſuch was the diligence of the Commiſſaries and General, that before their Enemies got up to them they were Armed and on Horſeback, ready to receive the Charge: And as *Micheletto* was the firſt that diſcovered the Enemy, ſo he was the firſt that made Head againſt them, advancing with his Troops to make good the Bridge of the River, which croſſes the way not very far from *Anghiari*. And *Pierogiampagolo* having, before the Enemies coming, cauſed the Ditches to be filled and levelled which were on each ſide the Road, between the *Bridge* and *Anghiari*, *Micheletto* placing himſelf againſt the Bridge, *Simoncino* the Popes Colonel, with the Legat, drew upon the Right hand of him, and *Pierogiampagolo* and the *Florentine* Commiſſaries on the Left, and the Infantry was diſpoſed on both hands on the Banks of the River: So that the Enemy had no open way to come and aſſault them but directly over the Bridge, nor the *Florentines* any where elſe to fight but on the Bridge, ſave only they had given Orders to the Foot, that if the Enemies Infantry went out of the way to flank the Men

Battle of *Anghiari*.

Men at Arms, they ſhould Charge them with their Croſs-bows, that they might not wound our Horſes in the flank as they paſſed the Bridge. The firſt that Charged were by *Michelotto* bravely received, and ſoon by him repulſed; but *Aſtorre* and *Francis Piccinino* coming up with their ſelect Troops, they Charged him ſo furiouſly that they gained the Bridge, and drove him to the foot of the Hill that goes up to *Anghiari*, but they were again repulſed, and driven back over the Bridge by thoſe that Charged them in the flank. The Fight continued thus for two hours, and ſometimes *Nicholai*, and ſometimes the *Florentines* were Maſters of the Bridge. And though upon the Bridge they had no advantage againſt one another, yet both on this and that ſide the Bridge *Nicholai* fought at great diſadvantage: for when any Party of *Nicholai*'s paſſed the Bridge, they found great Bodies of their Enemies, which by the levelling of the Ditches had room to draw up, and thoſe which were weary were ſtill ſeconded by freſh reſerves: but when the *Florentines* happened to paſs, *Nicholai* could not conveniently ſend in freſh ſupplies becauſe of the ſtreightneſs and narrowneſs of the way, incloſed with Ditches and Trenches; ſo that though many times *Nicholai*'s Men had paſſed the Bridge, yet by the ſupply of freſh Enemies they were always driven back. But when the *Florentines* had effectually won the Bridge,

and

and their Men entred into the Road, *Nicholas* wanted time, through the fury of his Enemies and narrowneſs of the place, to draw in freſh ſupplies; ſo that the Van falling back upon the Rear, and diſordering one another, all the Army was forced to fly, and moſt without knowing a Reaſon for it, ran towards the *Burgo*. Then fell the *Florentine* Souldiers to the plunder, which in Men, Mony, and Horſes amounted to a great Value; for with *Nicholas* there ſaved themſelves not above 1000 Horſe. Thoſe Inhabitants of the *Borgo St. Sepolchro* that came for Prey, were made a prey of, being all taken and put to Ranſom, their Colours and Carriages were all taken: yet this Victory was much more advantagious to *Toſcany* than it was prejudicial to the Duke; for had the *Florentines* loſt the Day *Toſcany* had been his, but his loſs was nothing but Arms and Horſes which good ſtore of Mony would ſoon recruit. Neither could ever any War be made in anothers Country with leſs danger than in theſe times; for in ſo total a Rout, and ſo long a fight, which laſted four hours, there died but one Man, and he not by any valiant ſtroak, but falling from his Horſe was trod to death; with ſo much ſecurity did men then fight; for being all on Horſe-back, and covered with Arms, they were, while they fought, ſecure from death, and when they yeilded there was no reaſon to kill them; ſo that fighting they were ſaved by their Arms, and yeilding by

Nicholas Piccinino defeated.

by Quarter. This Battle (both for matters happening in, and after it) is a great example of the ill management of thoſe Wars: for the Enemy overcome, and *Nicholas* fled into *Burgo*, the Commiſſaries would have followed him and beſieged that place to compleat their Victory, but many of the Captains and Souldiers poſitively refuſed to obey them, telling them, They would firſt ſecure their plunder, and dreſs the wounded, and then perhaps go; but what is more remarkable is, that the next day at Noon, without any leave of, or reſpect to the Commiſſaries or General, they went to *Arezzo*, and there leaving what ſpoil they had got, returned to *Anghiari*, a thing ſo contrary to all Military order, or any Warlike diſcipline, that any ſmall remnant of a well-governed Army migh eaſily, and deſervedly have ſnatcht from them that Victory they had undeſervedly gained; and 'tis worth our wonder to conſider how ſuch an ill-trayned Army ſhould have ſo much Courage in them as to know how to Conquer, but 'tis much more wonderful that any Enemy ſhould have ſo much Cowardize as to be beaten by ſuch diſorderly People. Whilſt the *Florentine* Souldiers were going and coming from *Arezzo*, *Nicholas* had time to depart with his People from *Borgo*, taking his way towards *Romagnia*, with whom the *Florentine* Rebels likewiſe fled, who beholding themſelves deprived of all hopes of ever returning to *Florence*, divided them-

The want of Diſcipline in the Armies of theſe Times.

themſelves to ſeveral places of *Italy*, or out of it, according as ſuited with every mans Conveniency; of whom, Meſſer *Rinaldo Albizi* choſe *Ancona* for his reſidence, from whence to gain himſelf a heavenly Country, ſince he had loſt that here on Earth; he went to the Sepulchre of *Chriſt*, and upon his return thence, at the Marriage of one of his Daughters, fell down ſuddenly and died, in which fortune ſeem'd to favour him, that in the leaſt unhappy day of all his Baniſhment ſhe let him die. He was a Man worthy of Honour in all Fortunes, and would have certainly enjoyed more than he did, had Nature let him been born in any united City, for many qualities of his offended in a divided City, which in one united would have preferred him. The Commiſſaries, as ſoon as their Men were returned from *Arezzo*, and *Nicholas* gone, preſented themſelves before *Borgo*; the *Borgheſi* would have ſurrendred themſelves to the *Florentines*, and they refuſed to accept them; however in treating the matter the Popes Legate conceived a ſuſpicion, that the *Florentine* Commiſſaries had dealt underhand to rob the Church of that Town; ſo that many bitter and injurious words paſſed, and there had happened ſome diſorder between the *Florentines* and *Eccleſiaſticks* had the Diſpute laſted much longer; but things being concluded as the Legate would have them, all was pacified. Whilſt theſe Debates were about *Borgo*, Intelligence

Death of Meſſer *Rinaldo Albizi*.

was brought that *Nicholas Piccinino* was gone towards *Rome*, and others said towards *La Marca*; whereupon the Legate and *Sforsa*'s Horse thought it convenient to go to *Perugia*, to be ready to assist either *Rome* or *La Marca* if *Nicholas* should turn either way; and over them was appointed *Bernardo Medici*, and *Neri* with the *Florentine* Forces ordered to reduce *Casentino*: according to this determination *Neri* marched to *Rassina*, and took it, and going forward regained *Bibiena*, *Prato Vecchio*, and *Romena*, and from thence went and belieged *Poppi*, beleaguring it at two Posts, one in the Plains of *Certomondi*, and the other on the little Hill in the way to *Franzoli*. This Earl, seeing himself forsaken by God and Man, had shut himself up in *Poppi*, not out of any hopes of assistance, but to get the best terms he could: Being now begirt by *Neri* he demanded Conditions, and found them such as he might reasonably at such a time expect; That he should depart with his Wife and Children, and such Goods as he could carry with him, and leave his Lands and Estate to the *Florentines*. And whilst they were upon Capitulating, he came down upon the Bridge over *Arno*, which washes one side of the Town, and in a doleful and afflicted manner spoke thus to *Neri*: *Had I taken right measures of my Fortune, and your Power, I should have appeared now as a friend to congratulate your Victory, and not as an enemy to petition you some-*

Poppi Belieged.

The Earls Speech to *Neri*.

ſomewhat to alleviate my Miſery and Ruine; but as the preſent Chance is to you glorious and joyful, 'tis to me greivous and miſerable. I had Horſes, Arms, Subjects, Eſtate and Riches, and who can wonder if I am loath to part with them; but if you muſt, and will command all Toſcany, *all muſt, of force, obey you? Had not I committed this Errour, my Fortune had never been known, nor you had opportunity to ſhew your Liberality; for if you yet reſtore me you will leave to the world an eternal example of your Clemency. Let your Goodneſs ſurmount my Crimes, and let at leaſt this only Houſe deſcend to thoſe, of whom your Anceſtours have received many Services.* Neri anſwered: *As you have relyed too much in thoſe who were able to do little, ſo your Offences againſt the State of* Florence *have been ſo high, that, conſidering the conjuncture of Affairs, 'tis neceſſary you reſign all your Eſtate, and quit thoſe places as an Enemy to the* Florentines, *which you would not hold as their Friend; for you have given ſuch an Example as ought not to be born with, nor you ſuffered in a place where, upon every Change of fortune you may damage the Commonwealth: for it is your Eſtates they fear, and not You, and if you could be a Prince in* Germany *that City would rejoyce at it, and for the love of thoſe Anceſtours you mention have an Eſteem for you.* To which the Earl in great Anger anſwered; *He wiſht to ſee the* Florentines *at a far greater diſtance.* And thus all kind diſcourſe ceaſing,

the Earl ſeeing no other remedy, reſigned his Lands and all his Concerns to the *Florentines*, and with all his Goods, Wife and Children, in tears departed, greiving to have loſt an Eſtate which his Anceſtors had for 400 years paſt, enjoyed. As ſoon as the News of theſe Victories was brought to *Florence*, it was by the Principal Men in the State, and by the whole People received with exceſſive Joy; and becauſe *Bernardo Medici* found the Report falſe of *Nicholas*'s being gone either towards *La Marca* or *Rome*, he returned to find out *Neri*, and they together came to *Florence*; where all thoſe Honours were in ample manner conferred on them, which according to the Orders of that City can be allowed to Victorious Citizens, and they Triumphant wife received by the Senate, the Captains, and the whole City.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE FLORENTINE HISTORY,

Written by

Nicholas Machiavel.

BOOK VI.

NEVER was (and it is but reaſon it ſhould be ſo) the end of thoſe that make War, to enrich themſelves and impoveriſh their Enemies; neither is Victory for any other end ſought after, nor Conqueſt deſired, but to make our ſelves Mighty, and our Adverſaries Weak; Wherefore, whenever Victory impoveriſhes, or Conqueſt weakens, they either exceed or come ſhort of thoſe ends for which War is made. That Prince or Commonwealth is by the Victories of War enriched, who utterly roots out his Enemies,

and remains ſole Lord of the Spoils and Ranſoms; but thoſe are by Victory impoveriſhed, who, though they overcome cannot extirpate their Enemies, and the Spoils and Ranſoms belong not to them but to their Souldiers. Such a Prince is unhappy in loſs, and moſt unhappy in Victory; for loſing he muſt undergo all the Injuries the Enemy can do him, and winning endure the Offences of his Friends, which, as they are leſs reaſonable are more inſupportable; eſpecially, ſeeing himſelf neceſſitated to burthen his People with new Taxes and Impoſitions; and ſurely, no Prince (that has any humanity) can rejoyce at that Victory which makes all his Subjects ſad. Ancient and well-ordered Commonweals were wont by Victories to fill their Treaſury with Gold and Silver, to diſtribute Gifts among the People, to releaſe their Subjects from Tax or Tribute, and to exhibit ſolemn Shows and Triumphs; but thoſe of the Times we are now writing of, firſt emptied their Treaſuries, and then impoveriſhed the People without ſecuring them from their Enemies; for only plundering their Enemies, and neither keeping them Priſoners nor killing them, the Revenge was no longer deferred, than whilſt the adverſe Leader was refurniſhed with Horſe and Arms. Beſides, the Spoils and Ranſoms being the Souldiers, the Victorious Princes wanting them to employ in new Wars were forced to extract all their Expences from the very bowels

bowels of their Subjects, nor gained the People any other advantage by Victory, but that the Prince became thereby more greedy and leſs reſpectful of burthening them; for the Souldiers had brought the War to that paſs, that both the Conquerour and Conquered (if they would command their own People) ſtood in daily need of more Mony, the one to reinforce them, and the other to reward them; for the firſt, without being again Horſed and Armed could not, and the latter, without being Rewarded would not fight: whence it hapned, that the one enjoyed little of the Victory, and the other was ſcarce ſenſible of the loſs; for the Conquer'd had time to recruit, and the Conquerers loſt all opportunity of purſuing the Victory: This diſorderly and perverſe way of proceedings in War made *Nicholas Piccinino* be again remounted, before his loſs was well known in *Italy*, and make a fiercer War upon the Enemy after his defeat than he did before: This enabled him after the diſcomfiture of *Breſcia* to ſurprize *Verona*, and after the loſs of moſt of his People at *Verona* with a great Army to invade *Toſcany*; by this means, after the rout of *Anghiari*, before he reached *Romagnia*, he grew ſtronger in the Field than he was at firſt, and encouraged the Duke of *Milan* once again to hope he might defend *Lombardy*, which, by reaſon of his abſence, ſeemed to him almoſt loſt: for whilſt *Nicholas* made thoſe ſtirs in *Toſcany*, the Duke

was reduced to ſuch Terms, that he was very doubtful of his own Eſtates, and feared his Ruine would be compleated before *Nicholas Piccinino* (whom he had recalled) could come to ſuccour him: wherefore to put a ſtop to the Earls fury, and with policy to temporize where he could not with Force oppoſe, he had recourſe to thoſe remedies which in the like condition had oft availed him, and to that end ſends *Nicholas d'Eſte*, Prince of *Farrara*, to *Peſchiera* where the Earl then was, who on his behalf perſwades him to Peace, demonſtrating, That that War could be no waies advantagious to the Earl; for if the Duke were ſo weakned that he could no longer maintain his Reputation, the Earl would be the firſt would ſuffer, for the *Venetians* and *Florentines* having no further uſe, would have no farther eſteem of him: and for a full aſſurance that the Duke indeed deſired Peace, he offered a concluſion of the Marriage, promiſing to ſend his Daughter to *Ferrara*, where, as ſoon as the Peace was concluded, he would joyn their hands. The Earl made anſwer, That if the Duke did faithfully deſire Peace he might eaſily find it, as that which both the *Venetians* and *Florentines* wiſh'd for; true it was he could hardly believe it, knowing well that he never deſired Peace but out of a pure Neceſſity, and as ſoon as that was paſt his inclinations to War revived; nor could he give any Credit about the promiſe of the Marriage, having

The Duke of *Milan* moves for Peace.

having been ſo often mockt with it; but when the Peace was Concluded, he would act in that Affair according to the Advice of his Friends. The *Venetians* (who ordinarily are ſuſpicious of their Souldiers without cauſe) with reaſon entertained a ſuſpicion of theſe practices, which the Earl endeavouring to cancel, carried on the War with great briskneſs; yet his Courage through Ambition, and the *Venetians* through Jealouſie was grown ſo luke-warm, that little or nothing was done that Summer: So that *Nicholas Piccinino* being returned into *Lombardy*, and cold Weather coming on, all the Armies were drawn into their Winter quarters; the Earl into *Verona*, the Duke into *Cremona*, the *Florentine* Forces into *Toſcany*, and the *Popes* into *Romagnia*; which laſt, after the Victory at *Anghiari*, attempted *Furli* and *Bolonia* to recover them out of the hands of *Francis Piccinino*, who was Governour there for his Father, in which though they ſucceeded not, for *Francis* bravely defended them; yet did their coming ſo terrifie thoſe of *Ravenna*, that fearful they ſhould be again reduced under the Empire of the Church, by Agreement with *Oſtaſio* of *Polenta* their Lord, they ſubmitted themſelves unto the power of the *Venetians*, who in requital of ſo fair a Preſent, that *Oſtaſio* might not by force retake that, which for want of Wit he had given them, they ſent him together with his Son to die in *Candia*.

The *Venetians* jealous of Earl *Sforza*.

Ingratitude in the *Venetians*.

The

The Pope in theſe Enterprizes, notwithſtanding the Victory at *Anghiari*, wanting Mony, ſold the Caſtle of *Borgo St. Sepolchro* to the *Florentines* for 25000 Ducats: Affairs ſtanding thus, and every one, by reaſon of the Seaſon of the year, thinking themſelves ſecure from War, Peace was no more talkt of, eſpecially by the Duke, who, heartned by the Winter, and *Piccinino*'s return, broke off all manner of Treaty with the Earl, uſing all poſſible diligence to recruit *Piccinino*, and making all other proviſions for a future War; which the Earl having intelligence of, went to *Venice* to Adviſe with that Senate how to manage the War for the year enſuing. *Nicholas* on the other ſide finding himſelf in order, and the Enemy diſordered, ſtaid not for the coming of the Spring, but in the coldeſt of Winter paſſes the *Adda*, and entring into the Territories of *Breſcia*, becomes preſently Maſter of all that Country, except *Adula* and *Arci*, where he likewiſe ſurprizes and carries away 2000 of *Sforza*'s Horſes who expected not the Alarum; but what more diſpleaſed the Earl, and frightned the *Venetians* was, that *Ciarpellone*, one of the Earls principal Officers, revolted from him; the Earl upon this Advice departs ſuddenly from *Venice*, and being arrived at *Breſcia*, found that *Nicholas Piccinino* after he had done this damage was returned to his Quarters: whereupon the Earl ſeeing the War extinct, thought it not conve-

convenient to reinflame it, but choſe rather, ſince both the Seaſon and the Enemy gave him a convenience of recruiting, to make uſe of it, that he might the better in the Spring be able to revenge theſe Affronts; he therefore made the *Venetians* recal thoſe Forces that ſerved under the *Florentines* in *Toſcany*, and in the room of *Gattamelata* who was dead, deſired *Michelotto Attenduli* might command them. The Spring now coming on *Nicholas Piccinino* firſt took the Field, and beleagured *Cignano*, a Caſtle twelve Miles from *Breſcia*, to the releif of which comes the Earl, and both on one ſide, and th'other the War was by theſe two Generals managed according to their wonted Cuſtome; and the Earl being doubtful of *Bergamo*, went and laid Siege to *Martinengo*, a Caſtle ſo ſeated, that (taking it) he might at any time with eaſe relieve *Bergamo*, which City was ſorely oppreſs'd by *Nicholas*, who having made ſuch proviſion that he could not any way, but that of *Martinengo*, be diſturbed by the Enemy; he had ſo ſtrongly fortified that Caſtle, that it was neceſſary for the Earl to come with all his Forces to attack it; whereupon *Nicholas*, with his whole Army, gained ſuch a Poſt that he ſtopt all Proviſions from the Earl, and with Trenches and Bulwarks ſo fortified himſelf, that the Earl, without apparent danger, could not aſſault him, reducing him to ſuch ſtreights that the Beſieger was in greater danger than thoſe Beſieged

ſieged in *Martinengo*; for Famine would not ſuffer the Earl to continue his Siege, nor could he without apparent loſs raiſe it; ſo there ſeemed to be a perfect Victory prepared for the Duke, and certain ruine for the *Venetians* and the Earl: but Fortune, who never wants waies to aſſiſt her friends and diſcountenance her enemies, raiſed in the breaſt of *Nicholas Piccinino* (ſwell'd with the hopes of this Victory) ſuch Ambition and Inſolence, that without any reſpect either to the Duke or himſelf, he ſent to tell him, How that having a long time made War under his Enſigns, and never gained ſo much Earth for himſelf as would ſerve to bury him, he would now know what Reward he ſhould have for all his Labours, ſince it was now in his power to make him Lord of *Lombardy*, and put all his Enemies into his hands: and conceiving that a certain Victory ought to have a certain Reward, he deſired him to grant him the City of *Piacenza*, that ſo tired with tedious War, he might at length repoſe himſelf. Nor was he aſhamed, in the Concluſion, to threaten the Duke to give over the Enterprize if he granted not his Requeſt. This haughty and inſolent way of asking offended the Duke, and incenſed him in that manner, that he reſolved rather to loſe all than give his conſent; and him that ſo many dangers and ſo many threats of his Enemies could not bend, the inſolence and pride of his Friends now made bow: wherefore he reſolved upon an

The Ambitious deſires of Nicholas Piccinino.

Agree-

Agreement with the Earl, to whom he ſent *Anthony Guido Buono* of *Tortona* to make offers of his Daughter, with Conditions of Peace, which were greedily accepted by the Earl and all the Colleagues; and having privately ſealed Covenants, the Duke ſent to command *Nicholas* to make Truce with the Earl for a year, alleadging, he was ſo tired with the vaſt Charge, that he would not refuſe a certain Peace for an uncertain Victory. *Nicholas* was ſtrangly ſurprized at this Order, not being able to imagine what ſhould make the Duke decline ſo aſſured a Victory; for he could not believe that the not rewarding his Friends could make him wave the deſtroying his Enemies: wherefore, by all means he could beſt deviſe, he ſtrove to oppoſe this Determination; inſomuch that the Duke, to bring him to conformity, was forced to threaten, That if he would not conſent, he would give him up as a prey to his own Souldiers, or to the Enemy. *Nicholas* hereupon obeys, but with the ſame regret of mind, as he that is forced to abandon his Friends and Country, lamenting his perverſe Fate, whilſt formerly ill Fortune, and now the Duke, rob'd him of Victory over his Enemies. The Truce made, the Marriage between the Lady *Biancha* and the Earl was celebrated, and the City of *Cremona* aſſigned for her Dower; and after that, in *November* 1441, the Peace was fully ratified, *Francis Barbadico* and *Paul Trono*, being Commiſſioners for

Peace concluded privately between the Duke and Earl.

Earl Francis marries the Lady *Biancha*.

for the *Venetians*, and Meſſer *Agnolo Acciaivolo* for the *Florentines*; by this Peace the *Venetians* came off gainers of *Peſchiera*, *Aſola*, and *Leonate*, Caſtles in the Marquiſate of *Mantova*. Peace thus ſetled in *Lombardy*; War ſtill reigned in the Kingdom, which not being to be pacified, proved the occaſion of renewing it again in *Lombardy*. King *Renate* was, during the Troubles in *Lombardy*, deſpoiled of all his Realm, except the City of *Naples*, ſo that *Alphonſo* thinking he had the victory in his own hands, determined, whilſt he lay at the Siege of *Naples*, to take from Earl *Francis Benevento*, and other his Eſtates lying in the Country adjacent; for he thought he without much hazard might ſucceed in it, the Earl being employed in the Wars of *Lombardy*; and his ſucceſs was indeed conformable to his wiſhes, for with eaſe he poſſeſſed himſelf of all thoſe Lands. But Peace being concluded in *Lombardy*, *Alphonſo* was fearful leaſt the Earl, becauſe of his loſt Towns, would joyn with *Renate*, and *Renate*, for the ſame Conſiderations, had hopes he would do ſo: whereupon he ſent to the Earl, incouraging him to come and aſſiſt a Friend, and revenge himſelf of an Enemy: On the other ſide, the King requeſted *Philip*, that in reſpect of the ancient Friendſhip between them, he would give the Earl ſuch a diverſion, that forced to attend on weightier matters, he ſhould be conſtrained to wave this. *Philip* complyed with this Requeſt,

Requeſt, not conſidering that thereby he diſturbed that Peace, which ſo much to his own diſadvantage he had lately concluded: for he ſent to Pope *Eugenius* to inform him, that now was his time to regain thoſe Lands the Earl had uſurped from the Church, and to effect it he offered him *Nicholas Piccinino* (he paying him while the War laſted) who, ſince the Concluſion of the Peace, had taken up his Quarters in *Romania*. The Pope greedily entertained the motion, as well out of Hate to the Earl, as deſire to regain his own; and though formerly he had with the ſame hopes been deceived by *Nicholas*, yet, now the Dukes intervention made him no more miſtruſtful, but he preſently joyned his Forces with *Nicholas* and aſſaulted *La Marca*. The Earl ſtartled at ſo ſudden an Onſet, with all ſpeed draws together his Forces, and marches towards his Enemies. In the mean time King *Alphonſo* takes *Naples*, ſo that all that Kingdom, except *Caſtel Nuovo*, was now in his power. Wherefore *Renate* leaving a ſtrong Garriſon in that Caſtle, comes to *Florence*, where he was honourably received; whence, a few daies after, ſeeing he could no longer maintain the War, he departs, and goes for *Marſilia*. Mean while *Alphonſo* had taken *Caſtle Nuovo*, and the Earl in *La Marca* proved ſomewhat inferiour to the Pope and *Nicholas*; whereupon he had recourſe to the *Venetians* and *Florentines* for aſſiſtance of Men and Mony; affirming, That if they did not now bridle

War in *La Marca*.

bridle the Pope and Kings power while he was yet in being, they would afterwards in vain ſtruggle for their own ſafety; for they would joyn with *Philip*, and amongſt them divide all *Italy*. The *Florentines* and *Venetians* ſtood a while in ſuſpence, ſomewhat doubtful to engage againſt the King and the Pope, and being at preſent employed in the Affairs of *Bolonia*; for *Annibal Bentivogli* had driven from that City *Francis Piccinino*, and to enable him to defend himſelf againſt the Duke who favoured *Francis*, had craved Aid of the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, who had not denied him; ſo that having engaged themſelves in this Affair, they could not at preſent reſolve to aſſiſt the Earl: but *Annibal* having defeated *Francis Piccinino*, and matters there ſeeming ſetled, the *Florentines* reſolved to aſſiſt the Earl, but firſt to be aſſured of the Duke, they renewed their League with him, which the Duke refuſed not; for he had only conſented, that War ſhould be made againſt the Earl while *Rendte* was in Arms, but ſeeing him vanquiſhed, and utterly driven from the Kingdom, he was not at all pleaſed that the Duke ſhould be ſpoiled of his Eſtates. Wherefore he not only was willing that the Earl ſhould have aſſiſtance, but wrote to King *Alphonſo* that he would be content to return back into his Kingdom, and deſiſt from making farther War; which, though *Alphonſo* was ſomewhat unwilling to do, yet being obliged to

the

the Duke, he thought beſt to comply with him, and retired with his Forces on the farther ſide of *Tronta*. Whilſt Affairs went thus in *Romania*, the *Florentines* were not quiet among themſelves. There was in *Florence*, among the Citizens of chief Reputation in the Government, *Neri di Gino Capponi*, of whoſe Greatneſs *Coſmo*, more than of any others, ſtood in fear; for to the Credit he had with the Citizens, he had joyned the favour of the Souldiers; for having been often General of the *Florentine* Army, his Valour and great Merit had gained their love; and beſides, the remembrance of the Victories, which they acknowledged from him and his Father (the one having reduced *Piſa* under the *Florentine* power, and the other defeated *Nicholas Piccinino* at *Anghiari*) made him reſpected by many, and feared by others who deſired no Partners in the Government. Among many other Prime Leaders of the *Florentine* Army was *Baldaccio* of *Anghiari*, a Man famous in War, and who in thoſe Times, either for Knowledge, Strength, or Courage, had not his Superiour in *Italy*; and ſo much Reputation had he gained among the Infantry (for thoſe he ever Commanded) that they were at any time ready, in whatever Enterprize he pleaſed to undertake, to follow him. This *Baldaccio* was a moſt intire Friend of *Neri*'s; for he loved him for his Vertue, of which he had been often witneſs, which made the

Baldaccio of Anghiari.

other Citizens grow jealous of him, and judging the disbanding of him would be hazardous, and the retaining him yet more dangerous, they reſolved to rid him out of the way, in which deſign Fortune proved favourable to them. *Bartholomew Orlandino* was *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice. He, as we have before related, having the Charge of the Guard of *Maradi*, baſely fled and deſerted a Paſs wich Nature it ſelf in a manner defended. This Cowardize ſo diſpleaſed *Baldaccio* that he could not forbear both by Words and Letters to brand him for it; at the ſhame of which Meſſer *Bartholomew* conceived ſuch a ſecret regret and ſpleen, that led on by an infamous deſire of Revenge, he thought nothing but the blood of his Accuſer could cancel his fault or cover his bluſhes. Many other Citizens were ſenſible of *Bartholomew*'s Malice, whereupon they inflamed him, and perſwaded the facility of getting eas'd of ſuch a Reproach, thereby at once revenging his private Injury, and freeing the State of a Man whom they muſt either retain with fear or diſmiſs with damage. Whereupon *Bartholomew* having taken his reſolve to aſſaſſinate *Baldacco*; concealed many armed young Men in his Chamber, and *Baldacco* being come upon the *Piazza*, where he uſually every day walked, or came to treat with the Magiſtrates about his entertainment: the *Gonfaloniere* ſent for him, and he not having the leaſt ſuſpicion, obeyed, whom the *Gonfaloniere*

met

met, and walking with him ſeveral turns about the Senate Chambers, talking and diſcourſing with him concerning his Pay, at length, when he ſaw his opportunity, being come near the room where the Armed men lay hid, he gave the ſignal, and they immediately ſallying forth and finding him alone and diſarmed, ſoon ſlew him, and threw him out of the Window which looks from the Palace to the Cuſtome-Houſe, and there carrying him into the *Piazza*, cutting off his Head, left him for all that day as a ſpectacle to the People. He left behind him only one Son (born of *Annalena* his Wife) who not long ſurviv'd him: that virtuous Lady, having loſt her Husband and Son, would not again Contract her ſelf to any; but turning her Houſe into a Monaſtery (with many Noble and virtuous Ladies who conſorted themſelves with her) in a holy manner lived and died: Whoſe memory, for the Monaſtery by her founded and from her named, doth hitherto live and will live for ever. This Action ſomewhat check'd *Neri*'s power, and leſſened him both in Reputation and Friends: Nor did the prime Miniſters of State think this enough, for Ten years being now ſpent ſince the foundation of their Government, and the Authority of the *Balia* expired, and many preſuming both in words and deeds to exceed the limits thought requiſite; The Chiefs of the State judged it fit for maintaining their Authority to revive the *Balia*,

Baldaccio aſſaſſinated by the Gonfaloniere.

whereby they might afresh give Authority to their Friends, and weaken their Enemies; and therefore in the year 1444 they, by the consent of the Councils, created a New *Balia*; which setled the Offices, gave Authority to a few to create the Senate, reviving the Chancellorship of the Reformation, displacing *Philip Peruzzi*, and in his room constituting one that would act according to the pleasure of the Great Men, who prolonged the Confinements of many, imprisoned *Simon Vespucci*; removed from their Honours and Offices the *Acciaiuoli*, as Enemies to the State, and with them the Sons of *Peter Baroncelli*, all the *Seragli*, *Bartholomew Fortini*, Messer *Francisco Castellani*, and many others; and by this means regained their own Power and Authority, and abated the Pride both of their known and suspected Enemies. And having thus setled the State within, they applyed themselves to Affairs abroad. *Nicholas Piccinino* being, as we have before declared, deserted by the King *Alphonso*, and the Earl with the releif sent him by the *Florentines* grown strong, he engages with *Nicholas* near *Fermo*, and gave him so total a Rout, that *Nicholas* with the loss of most of his Men hardly saved himself in *Montecchio*; where he fortified and so bravely defended himself, that in a short time he had rallyed all his People, and was grown able, with ease to defend himself from the Earl; especially Winter coming on, which constrained

1444. *Florence reformed.*

Nicholas Piccinino discomfited.

ſtrained both thoſe Captains to draw into their Quarters. *Nicholas* applyed himſelf all Winter to reinforce his Army, in which both the Pope and King *Alphonſo* aſſiſted him; ſo that early in the Spring both Generals took the Field, and *Nicholas*, being the ſtronger, had reduced the Earl to extream neceſſity, and had certainly overthrown him, had not the Duke interrupted *Nicholas*'s Deſigns. *Philip* ſent to deſire his immediate preſence, for he had ſomething of importance to confer with him; which *Nicholas* covetous to hear, abandoned a certain Victory for an incertain Pleaſure; and leaving the Command of the Army to his Son *Francis*, poſts to *Milan*. This the Earl having intelligence of, would not loſe the opportunity of fighting in *Nicholas*'s abſence, and engaging near *Monte Loro*, routed *Nicholas*'s Forces, and took *Francis* priſoner. *Nicholas* arrived at *Milan*, finding himſelf abuſed by *Philip*, and receiving intelligence of his Sons being defeated and taken, died with Grief in the Year 1445, and the 64 of his Age; leaving behind him two Sons *Francis* and *Jacob*, who had leſs Valour, and worſe Fortune than their Father; ſo that thele *Braccian* Forces were almoſt quite worn out, and the *Sforzan* Arms ſtill (ſeconded by Fortune) became more and more glorious. The Pope ſeeing *Nicholas*'s Forces defeated, and himſelf dead, having no ſure reliance on the Aid of *Arragon*, ſought Peace with the Earl, and by the *Florentines*

Death of *Nicholas Piccinino*.

intermiſſion concluded it; by which *Oſimo*, *Fabriano* or *Riconati*, Towns of *La Marca*, became the Popes', and all the reſt of that Territory remained ſubject to the Earl. Peace thus concluded in *La Marca*, all *Italy* had been at quiet had not the *Bolognesi* diſturbed its repoſe. There was in *Bolonia* two mighty Families, the *Canneſchi* and *Bentivolii*; of the laſt *Hannibal* was the Head, and of the firſt *Battiſta*. They did, to beget a greater confidence in each other, made ſeveral intermarriages; but in Men aſpiring to the ſame Greatneſs, though Alliances may be eaſily contracted, yet Friendſhip is not. *Bolonia* was in League with the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, which they had entred into by the Mediation of *Hannibal Bentivogli*, after his driving *Francis Piccinino* out of that City. *Battiſta* knowing how much the Duke deſired the favour of this City, plotted with him to kill *Hannibal*, and reduce the City under his obedience. And having concluded on the manner, *Battiſta*, with his Followers, on the 24 of *June* 1445, aſſaults *Hannibal* and kills him, and thereupon Proclaims the Duke throughout the Town. The *Venetian* and *Florentine* Commiſſaries were in the City, who upon the firſt Rumour retired to their Houſes, but ſeeing afterwards how the People Arming themſelves, flocked in great numbers to the Market place, to oppoſe the Murtherers, and revenge the death of *Hannibal*, they took heart, and with

Troubles in *Bolonia*.

thoſe

hoſe Men they had about them, joyned ith the People, and, making Head, Charg- the *Canneſchi*, whom in a very ſhort they overthrew, killing ſome, and ng the reſt out of the City. *Battiſta* ng an opportunity to flie, nor his to kill him, hid himſelf in his nder a Veſſel made to keep Corn in; Enemies having made ſearch for all that day, knowing that he was not gon out of the City, ſo terrified his Ser- vants, that a Boy of his for fear ſhewed then where he was, whom, pulling out thence ſtill in his Armour, they immediately ſlew, and then having drag'd his Body through the Streets, burnt it. Thus the Dukes Victory proved ſufficient to make *Battiſta* attempt this Enterprize, but his Succours came not time enough to maintain it, or ſave his life. Though the death of *Battiſta*, and flight of the *Canneſchi* had quieted theſe Tumults, yet the *Bolonians* remained in great Confuſion, there being none of the Family of *Bentivogli* fit to Go- vern, *Hannibal* having left but one Son, called *John*, not above ſix years of Age; ſo that they grew fearful leaſt ſome Diviſion happening among the Friends of the *Benti- vogli*, might give opportunity to the *Can- neſchi* to return, to the ruine of the City and their Party. But whilſt they lay under thoſe Fears and Jealouſies, *Francis*, formerly Earl of *Poppi*, being then in *Bolonia*, gave Advertiſement to the Prime men of the

Battiſta Canneſchi ſlain.

City that if they were deſirous to be Governed by one of the Blood of the *Benti vogli*, he could inform them where to find one; and therewithal acquainted the How *Hercules* the Couſin of *Hannibal* [illegible] pening, about twenty years ſince; [illegible] *Poppi*, had there Carnal knowledg[illegible] young Woman of that Caſtle, who afterwards delivered of a Son called which *Hercules* often affirmed to be his, could he indeed well deny it, for whoever look'd on *Hercules* and the Child would find a very great likeneſs or reſemblance.

Santi Bentivogli ſent for to Govern *Bolonia.*

The Citizens gave Credit to his Report, and delayed not the ſending Ambaſſadours to *Florence* to find out the young Man, and to prevail with *Coſmo* and *Neri* that he might be ſent to them. The reputed Father of *Santi* was dead, and the Youth lived under the Care and Tuition of an Uncle of his, called *Anthony Caſceſe*. *Anthony* was Rich, Childleſs, and a Friend of *Neri*'s; wherefore as ſoon as the matter was divulged, *Neri* was of Opinion that it was neither to be ſlighted, nor raſhly accepted, and thought good to ſpeak with *Santi* himſelf, in the preſence of *Coſmo* and thoſe ſent from *Bolonia*; and being all met, *Santi* was by the *Boloneſi* not only honoured, but almoſt adored: ſo much can the love of Parties or Factions prevail o're the minds of Men. For the preſent nothing was concluded, ſave that *Coſmo* taking the Young man aſide, told him, *None can in this caſe*

caſe adviſe thee better than thy ſelf, for thou art to make that Choice which thou findeſt thy own Soul inclinable to; and if thou be the Son of Hercules Bentivoglio, *thou wilt diſpoſe thy ſelf to Actions worthy that Houſe and Family; but if thou be the Son of* Agnolo Caſtelle, *thou wilt content thy ſelf to ſtay in* Florence, *and follow his mean Trade of Dreſſing Wool.* These words moved the young man, and whereas before he had in a manner denyed to accept the propoſal, he now referred himſelf wholly to what *Coſmo* and *Neri* ſhould determine: ſo that they agreeing with the Meſſengers of *Bolonia*, furniſhed him with Cloaths, Horſes, and Servants, and ſoon after with an honourable Company he was attended to *Bolonia*; where the Charge and Government of *Hannibal*'s Children, and of the City, was committed to him: wherein he behaved himſelf with ſo much prudence, that whereas his Predeceſſours had all been ſlain by their Enemies, he both lived in Peace, and died in Honour. *Philip*, after the death of *Nicholas Piccinino*, and the Peace in *La Marca*, being deſirous of a General to Command his Armies, held private Correſpondence with *Ciarpellone*, one of the Earls principal Captains, and came to an Agreement with him: whereupon *Ciarpellone* asked the Earls leave to go to *Milan* to take poſſeſſion of certain Caſtles, which had by the Duke in the paſt War been given him. But the Earl having ſome ſuſpicion of the

the Contrivance (that he might not ſerve the Duke to his prejudice) firſt ſtop'd him and ſoon after put him to death, giving out He had dealt falſly and fraudulently with him. At this the Duke was exceeding An-

New War in *La Marca.*

gry, but the *Florentines* and *Venetians* very well pleaſed, fearing nothing more than a friendſhip and Conjunction between the Dukes and Earls Forces. But the Dukes reſentment ſtirred up the War afreſh in *La Marca*. *Giſmond Malateſti*, Lord of *Arimini*, being Son in Law to the Earl, hoped to have *Peſaro* aſſigned over to him; but the Earl having got poſſeſſion of it, gave it to *Alexander* his Brother; at which *Giſmond* was enraged, and to encreaſe his fury it happened, that *Frederick* of *Montefeltro* his profeſt Enemy, had, by the Earls favour and Connivance, ſeized on the Lordſhip of *Urbin*. Theſe Affronts made *Giſmond* joyn with the Duke, and ſolicite the Pope and King to make a War upon the Earl; who, to make *Giſmond* taſte the firſt fruits of the ſeed he had ſown, by way of prevention, falls firſt upon his Territories: ſo that *Romania* and *La Marca* were filled with War and Tumult; for the King, Pope, and Duke ſent large Aids to *Giſmond* and the *Venetians*; and the *Florentines*, if not with Men, yet with Mony abundantly ſupplied the Earl. *Philip*, mean while, thought not the War in *Romania* enough to afflict the Earl, but deſigned to take from him *Cremona*, and *Pontremoli*; but the firſt was by the

Vene

Venetians, and the laſt by the *Florentines* defended. So the War was again revived in *Lombardy*, in which, after ſome Skirmiſhes happening in the Country of *Cremona*, *Francis Piccinino*, General for the Duke was at *Caſal*, by *Micheletto* and the *Venetian* Forces, defeated. Which Victory put the *Venetians* in hopes of becoming Lords of the Dukes Eſtates, and encouraged them to ſend one of their Commiſſaries to invade *Ghiradadda*, who took the whole Country, except *Cremona*, and thence paſſing the *Adda*, made his incurſions as far as *Milan*: whereupon the Duke had recourſe to *Alphonſo*, craving his aſſiſtance, and ſetting forth the danger his Kingdom would be expoſed to if the *Venetians* were Lords of *Lombardy*. *Alphonſo* promiſed to ſend him Aid, which could hardly, without the Earls conſent, have paſſage. Whereupon *Philip* was forced to ſupplicate the Earl, that he would not utterly deſert his Father in Law now grown blind and Aged. The Earl thought himſelf injured by the Duke, for having been the mover of this War; but on the other ſide he affected not the Greatneſs of the *Venetians*, and began himſelf to want Mony, which the League ſupplyed but ſparingly: for the *Florentines* were now freed from their Fears of the Duke, which had begot their eſteem of the Earl; and the *Venetians* ſought his deſtruction, believing the Dominion of *Lombardy* could not be ſnatcht from them by any one

War revived in *Lombardy*.

The *Venetians* and Duke both ſolicite the Earls friendſhip.

but

but him: And yet, whilſt *Philip* ſolicited him to accept of his Pay, and offered him the ſupream Command of all his Forces (on Condition he would deſert the *Venetians*, and reſtore *La Marca* to the Pope) they ſent likewiſe their Ambaſſadours, promiſing him *Milan* if they took it, and to be perpetual General of their Armies, provided he proſecuted the War in *La Marca*, and prevented *Alphonſo*'s Forces from coming to relieve *Lombardy*. The *Venetians* Promiſes were great, and their Merits greater, having firſt begun this War to ſecure *Cremona* for the Earl; and on the other ſide, the Dukes Injuries were freſh, and his Promiſes faithleſs and not be relied on. However the Earl was doubtful what Choice to make: On the one ſide, his obligation to the League, his word paſt, with the late deſervings and promiſes of future Advantages, were ſtrong motives; and on the other ſide, the prayers of his Father in Law; but principally the poyſon he feared lay hid under the *Venetians* extravagant Promiſes withheld him: for he judged, that both in relation to their Promiſes, and his own Eſtates, he ſhould, whenever they were Victors, lye at their diſcretion; which no prudent Prince ought to expoſe himſelf to, unleſs in pure neceſſity. Theſe difficulties of coming to a Reſolve were by the Ambition of the *Venetians* removed; who, put in hopes to ſurprize *Cremona*, by ſome intelligence they had in that City, under other

pretences

pretences made their Army approach it; but the Plot was discovered by the Earls Garrison, and their design frustrated: so, though they got not *Cremona*, they lost the Earl, who, laying aside all respects, joyned now with the Duke. Pope *Eugenius* was dead, and *Nicholas* the Fifth succeeded in the Papacy. The Earl lay with all his Army at *Cotignuola*, ready to march into *Lombardy*, when Intelligence was brought him that *Philip* was dead, which happened on the last of *August* 1457. This news extreamly perplexed the Earl; he suspected his own People were discontented, not having had their full pay; he was fearful of the *Venetians*; now in Arms against him, and whom he had so lately made Enemies, by deserting them and joyning with the Duke, he was doubtful of *Alphonso* his perpetual Enemy, and had no great hopes in the Pope or *Florentines* in these, because they were in League with the *Venetians*; and in the other, because he was possessor of the Church-Lands; yet he resolved to out-face fortune, and govern himself and his Affairs according as things fell out; for many times by Action those counsels are discovered, which Idleness conceals. Some hopes he had in believing, that if the *Milanese* would defend themselves from the Ambition of the *Venetians*, they could fly to no shelter but his: wherewith taking heart he marches into the Territories of *Bolonia*, from thence passing *Modena* and *Reggio*, and sitting down on the *Lenza*, sends

Duke *Philips* death

to

to *Milan* to offer his Service. The *Milaneſi* after the Dukes death, would, ſome live free, and others under a Prince; thoſe who deſired a Prince were partly for the Earl, and partly for King *Alphonſo*; wherefore thoſe who made choice of liberty, being more united, prevailed againſt the other, and eſtabliſhed ſuch a Common-wealth as pleaſed them, but to which many Cities of the Dutchy refuſed obedience; thinking they might enjoy their liberty as well as *Milan*, or not being able to aſpire to that, yet they would not be Lorded over by the *Milaneſi*: wherefore *Lodi* and *Piacenza* ſubmitted to the *Venetians*, *Pavia* and *Parma* would live free. The Duke hearing of theſe confuſions, went to *Cremona*; whither came his Ambaſſadors with others from the *Milaneſi*, bringing this Concluſion, that he ſhould be General of *Milan* upon the ſame terms lately made with Duke *Philip*; with this addition, that *Breſcia* ſhould be the Earls, till he could take *Verona*; which done, that to be his and *Breſcia* to be reſtored. Before the Dukes death, Pope *Nicholas* at his Exaltation to the Papacy, had endeavoured to make Peace among all *Italian* Princes; whereupon he prevailed with thoſe Ambaſſadors ſent him by the *Florentines* at his creation, to requeſt that a Diet might be held at *Ferrara*, in order to the treating either a long truce or a firm Peace: To which end there aſſembled in that City, the Popes Legat, the Dukes, the *Florentine* and *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, but thoſe of

Earl Francis General of the Milaneſi.

King

King *Alfonſo* came not. He was then at *Tivoli* with a great power of Horſe and Foot, and from thence countenanced the Duke, deſigning as it is thought, having gained the Earl to their ſide, openly to aſſault the *Florentines* and *Venetians*; and whilſt he delayed [illegible] the Earl with his forces to ſtay in *Lombardy*, and the treaty of Peace proceed; to which the King ſent not, affirming he would ratifie whatever the Duke aſſented to. The Peace was many daies debated, and after many diſputes concluded, either to be perpetual, or a truce for 5 years, which of the two beſt pleaſed the Duke, but the Dukes Ambaſſadors being ſent to *Milan*, to underſtand his pleaſure, found him dead: the *Milaneſi* notwithſtanding his death, would have ſtood to the Agreement: but the *Venetians* would not, having now greater hopes than ever, to become Lords of that State; eſpecially ſeeing ſo ſoon after his Death, *Lodi* and *Piacenza* ſubmit to them; aſſuring themſelves they ſhould in a ſhort time, either by force or conſent, deſpoil *Milan* of all its Eſtates, and afterwards ſo oppreſs the City it ſelf, that it ſhould be conſtrained to ſurrender before any releif could come: And they more firmly perſwaded themſelves to this, ſeeing the *Florentines* intangled in a War with King *Alphonſo*. That King was now at *Tivoli*, and deſigning to purſue his expedition againſt *Toſcany*, as he had concluded with Duke *Philip* (imagining the War raiſed in *Lombardy* gave him time and opportunity)

He

He was desirous to get footing in the *Florentine* Estate, before he declared open War, and to that end plotted the surprizal of the Castle of *Cennima*, in the upper vale of *Arno*, which by conspiracy with some within he won. The *Florentines* startled at this unexpected accident, seeing the King resolved to prosecute them, hired Souldiers, created the Council of ten, and according to their Custom prepared for War. The King was already marched into the Territories of *Siena*, and used all his endeavours to gain the favour of that City; but the *Sanesi* continuing firm in their friendship to the *Florentines*, would not admit him into *Siena*, nor any other of their Towns: true it is, they furnished him with some Provisions, but for that, their weakness and his power pleaded their excuse. The King thought it not convenient to make his inroads by the Vale of *Arno*, as he had at first designed, both because *Cennima* was again recovered, also because the *Florentines* were already pretty well furnished with Men; wherefore he advances towards *Volterra*, and took several Castles in the *Volterran*; thence turning into the Territory of *Pisa*, by the Countenance of *Anigo* and *Fatio*, Counts of *Ghirardesca*, he takes some Castles, and assaults *Campelia*, but finding it defended both by the *Florentines*, and the hard Winter, fails in the Attempt; wherefore, leaving Garrisons in the Towns he had taken, both to defend them, and make incursions into the Country with the

Alphonso invades the Florentine.

rest

[redacted] of his Army, he returns to his Quarters [redacted] one Country of *Siena*. The *Florentines*, having this advantage of the Season, with all diligence provided Men, and chose *Frederick* Lord of *Urban*, and *Gismond Malatesti*, for their Commanders; between whom there [redacted] some difference happened, yet by the prudence of *Neri di Gino*, and *Bernadetto Medici*, it was in such measure accommodated, that notwithstanding the Cold was still very fierce, they drew forth the Army, and regained all the Towns lost in the Country of *Pisa* and *Pomerancy* in the *Volterran*, and so streightned the Kings Forces, that made their inroads along the Sea Coast, that they were scarce able to defend their Garrisons. But Spring coming on, the Commissaries advanced with all their Forces, consisting of 5000 Horse, and 2000 Foot, to *Spedaletto*; and the King draws his Army, consisting of 15000, within three Miles of *Campiglia*; and whilst they thought he would besiege that Town, turns off and sits down before *Piombino*, which he hoped easily to carry, because it was very ill provided, and withal believing the Acquisition would prove of great advantage to him, and prejudice to the *Florentines*; because from thence he might consume the *Florentines* with a tedious War, and having his own Provisions by Sea, spoil the whole Country of *Pisa*. This Siege sorely afflicted the *Florentines*; yet advising what was best to be done, they supposed that if

if their Army could maintain its ſtation among the Thickets of *Campiglia*, the King would be forced to depart either with loſs or diſgrace. Wherefore they Armed four *Galliaſſes*, which they had at *Leghorn*, and by them ſent three hundred Foot into *Piombino*, encamping themſelves at *Ca*[illegible], a Poſt where they muſt with difficulty be aſſailed; for to lye among the *Firtes* in the Plain they conceived it dangerous. The *Florentine* Camp was Victualled from the Towns adjacent, which being but few and thinly Inhabited, made Proviſion ſcarce: So that the Army ſuffered extream Want, but eſpecially of Wine; for none being made there, and no poſſibility of having it elſewhere, that defect could not be ſupplyed; but the King, though he were ſtreightned by the *Florentines*, had abundance of all ſorts of Proviſion (even from Straw upwards) all which was brought him by Sea. Wherefore the *Florentines* grew deſirous to make tryal, if they likewiſe could relieve their Camp by Sea, and loaded their *Galleaſſes* with Proviſion; but in the Voyage they were met by ſeven of the Kings Gallies, and two of them were taken, and the other two put to flight. This defeat made the *Florentine* Army loſe all hopes of refreſhment; whereupon two hundred Pioneers, or more, for want (of Wine eſpecially) fled into the Kings Camp, and the reſt murmured, declaring, They could not, nor would not, ſtay in thoſe hot places where they

they had neither Wine nor wholeſom Water. Whereupon the Commiſſaries reſolved to remove, and addreſſed themſelves to the recovery of ſeveral Caſtles which were yet in the Kings hands: who on the other ſide, though he ſtood in no want of Proviſion, and was ſuperiour in Number, yet began to waſte; for his Camp was infected with divers Diſeaſes, occaſioned by Vapours ariſing from the Sea, of which many died, and moſt were infirm. Whereupon a Treaty was ſet on Foot, whereby the King demanded 50000 Florins, and *Piombino* to be left at his diſcretion; which being debated at *Florence*, many that were deſirous of Peace accepted, affirming, They knew not how any could hope they ſhould overcome in a War that required ſuch vaſt Expence to maintain it. But *Neri Capponi* going to *Florence*, with ſuch Reaſons dehorted them, that the whole City agreed not to accept thoſe Conditions, but received the Lord of *Piombino* into their Pay and protection, promiſing in War and Peace to maintain and defend him, provided he would not be wanting to himſelf; but as hitherto he had done defend his City. The King having advice of this Reſolution, and perceiving that by reaſon of the Sickneſs in his Camp, he could not gain the Town, raiſed his Siege as if he had been defeated, and leaving 2000 dead upon the place, with the reſt of his infirm Army retreated into the Country of *Siena*, and thence to the Kingdom,

Overtures of Peace between *Alphonſo* and the *Florentines*.

The King raiſes his Siege with diſhonour.

deſperately angry at the *Florentines*, and threatning the next Spring a new Invaſion. During this turmoil of Affairs in *Toſcany*, Earl *Francis* being made General for the *Milaneſi* in *Lombardy*, firſt of all engages *Francis Piccinino*'s friendſhip, that either he might favour his Deſigns, or at leaſt be more wary of obſtructing them; and then drawing his Army into the Field, thoſe of *Favia* ſuppoſing themſelves unable to reſiſt his Forces, and reſolving not to ſubmit to the *Milaneſi*, offered him their Town upon Condition he ſhould not deliver them up to *Milan*. The Earl was very delirous to have the poſſeſſion of that City, believing it would be a brave beginning, and an excellent Colour for other deſigns. Nor did ſhame, or breach of Faith, reſtrain him; for Great men think loſs a ſhame, and not Conqueſt, though by Deceit. Yet he was fearful by taking it he ſhould ſo anger the *Milaneſi*, that they would give up their right to the *Venetians*; and if he took it not, he was fearful of the Duke of *Savoy*, to whom many Citizens propoſed a Surrendry. One way or the other, he ſaw himſelf deprived of the Empire of *Lombardy*: Yet preſuming there would be leſs danger in the taking it, than leaving it to another, he reſolved to accept it, perſwading himſelf he might pacifie the *Milaneſi*; to whom he ſent word, how many Dangers he had incurred by not accepting *Pavia*, which thoſe Citizens would otherwiſe have ſurrendred, either to the *Vene-*

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tians or the Duke of *Savoy*, in either of which caſes their Dominion there were loſt; and that it were much better for them to have him their Neighbour and Friend, than to have a powerful Neighbour (as either of the other were) and an Enemy: withal, the *Milaneſi* were much troubled at it, imagining they had made a diſcovery of the Earls Ambition, and the ends he drove at; but they thought it beſt not to diſcover their thoughts, not knowing whither (if they once caſt off the Earl) to turn themſelves, unleſs to the *Venetians*, whoſe pride and heavy Conditions they deteſted: wherefore they reſolved not to fall at variance with the Earl, but to mak uſe of him to oppoſe the preſent Storms, hoping they once blown over, to free themſelves likewiſe from him: for at this time they were not only aſſailed by the *Venetians*, but by the *Genoveſe* and Duke of *Savoy*, in the Name and Right of *Charles* of *Orleans*, Son to a Siſter of *Philips*; but that War was with eaſe by the Earl ſuppreſſed; and then they had no Enemies left but the *Venetians*, who with a mighty Army ſought to make themſelves Maſters of that State, and were poſſeſſed of *Lodi* and *Piacenza*; which laſt the Earl laid Siege to, and with great labour took, and ſackt. After which (for Winter was drawing on) he brought his Army into Quarters, and went himſelf to *Cremona*, where all that Seaſon he repoſed himſelf with his Wife. But Spring approaching

the *Venetian* and *Milaneſe* Armies took the Field; the *Milaneſi* only deſired to regain *Lodi*, and then make Peace with the *Venetians*; for both the Charges of the War increaſing upon them, and withal their Jealouſies of their General, whoſe fidelity they miſtruſted, they grew infinitely deſirous of Peace, that they might enjoy ſome repoſe, and ſecure themſelves againſt the Earl. They therefore reſolved their Army ſhould make an attempt upon *Caravaggio*, hoping whenever that Caſtle were regained from the Enemy, *Lodi* would ſurrender. The Earl obeyed the *Milaneſi*, though he had more mind to paſs the *Adda*, and fall into the Country of *Breſcia*. Having therefore laid Siege to *Caravaggio*, he fortified himſelf with Trenches and Bulwarks, that if the *Venetians* attempted to raiſe the Siege, they ſhould do it with diſadvantage. On the other ſide, the *Venetians* came with their Army under *Michieletto* within two Bow-ſhot of the Enemy, where they lay ſeveral daies, and many Skirmiſhes happened. However, the Earl made his approaches to the Caſtle, and reduced it to ſuch a condition that it could not longer hold out; which much afflicted the *Venetians*, believing with the loſs of it they ſhould loſe *Lodi*. Wherefore calling a Council of War, there were many Debates how to relieve it; but none ſeem'd probable, unleſs they could force the Enemies Works, which muſt be done with great diſadvantage. However, they thought

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that Caſtle of ſuch concern, that the Senate of *Venice* (naturally fearful, and dreading any thing they behold doubtful and dangerous) choſe to run the hazard of all, rather than with the loſs of that Caſtle loſe their preſent Deſign. They therefore determined, in the beſt manner they could, to ſtorm the Earls Camp, and getting in Order one Morning very early, fell on in that part they had obſerved weakeſt Guarded; ſo that upon the firſt Charge (as happens in all unexpected Aſſaults) *Sforza*'s whole Army was in confuſion: but the Earl ſoon repaired that diſorder; ſo that after many Attempts made by the Enemy to force the Trenches, they were not only repulſed, but ſo totally routed and diſcomfited, that of Twelve thouſand Horſe, which were in the Army, not above a thouſand ſaved themſelves; all their Ammunition and Carriages became a prey to the Enemies; nor ever before or ſince, did the *Venetians* receive a greater or more dreadful blow. Among the Prey and Priſoners was found a *Venetian* Providiſor very ſad and melancholy, who before the Fight, and in the carrying on the War, had been uſed to ſpeak very diſgracefully of the Earl, calling him Baſtard and baſe Fellow: ſo that finding himſelf now a Priſoner, and being conſcious of his Fault, fearing to be rewarded according to his Deſerts; being brought before the Earl quaking and trembling, according to the nature of proud and baſe-minded men, who

The *Venetian* Army defeated by the Earl.

who are insolent in Prosperity, and low and vile in Adversity; casting himself on his Knees with tears in his Eyes; humbly craved pardon for the Injuries he had done him; whom the Earl taking by the Hand, and raising him up, bid be of good comfort, and hope the best; and then told him: *That he wondred a Man of that Prudence and Gravity he would be thought, should so oversee himself as to talk so vilely of those that had not deserved it: for as to those matters wherewith he had scandalized him, he knew not what had been done between* Sforza *his Father, and the Lady* Lucia *his Mother, because he neither was nor could be present; but as to his own doings, he was sensible he had governed himself so, that no man could justly reprove him; of which both himself and the whole Senate could bear sufficient testimony: and therefore exhorted him for the future, to be more modest in his Expressions, and more cautious in his proceedings.* After this Victory, the Earl with his Triumphant Army marched into the Territory of *Brescia*; all which he possessed himself of, and then pitcht his Camp within two miles of the City. On the other side, the *Venetians* having received this defeat, imagining (as it happened) That *Brescia* would be the next thing stroke at, had taken the best Care, and made the best provision for it they could; and then with all diligence levyed Forces, and rallyed the remnants of their broken Army, and by virtue

The generous temper of Earl Sforza.

virtue of the League ſent to demand Aid from the *Florentines*, who being releaſed from the War by King *Alphonſo*, ſent to their aſſiſtance 1000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe. With this addition of *Forces* the *Venetians* were in a condition to begin to think of Peace. It hath been a long time fatal to the *Venetian* Republick to loſe in War, and afterwards by Treaty to have it reſtored double; and the *Venetians* now well knew how jealous the *Milaneſi* were of the Earl, and how the Earl deſired not to be Earl but Lord of *Milan*, ſo that it was in their power to make Peace with either, the one deſiring it out of Ambition, and the other out of Fear. They choſe to make it with the Earl, and offer him their Aſſiſtance to Conquer the other; perſwading themſelves, That the *Milaneſi* ſeeing themſelves deceived by the Earl, would in indignation rather ſubmit themſelves to any than to him; and ſo reducing them into a condition that they could neither defend themſelves nor truſt the Earl, they would be forced, not knowing which way to turn themſelves, to fall into their lap. Having thus deliberated, they ſounded the Earls inclination, and found him very ready to embrace Peace, being deſirous the Victory gained at *Caravaggio* ſhould be his and not the *Milaneſi*'s: wherefore an Agreement was concluded, by which the *Venetians* were obliged to pay the Earl, till ſuch time as he had conquer'd *Milan*, 13000 Florins a Month; and moreover, during the War, to aſſiſt him with 4000

Peace between the Earl and *Venetians*.

4000 Horſe, and 2000 Foot: and the Earl on the other part obliged himſelf to reſtore to the *Venetians* all the Towns, Priſoners, or whatever elſe had been taken in that War, and content himſelf with thoſe Lands Duke *Philip* at his Death poſſeſſed. As ſoon as this Agreement was known at *Milan*, it more afflicted that whole City than the Victory at *Caravaggio* had rejoyced them; the Magiſtrates vented their Griefs to one another in ſad Complaints; the Common People railed, and the Women and Children wept, and all with one voice called him Diſloyal and Traitour; and though they could not believe either Prayers or Promiſes could withdraw him from his ingrateful deſign, yet they ſent Ambaſſadours to him, to ſee with what face, and what words he would juſtifie his wickedneſs; who being come before the Earl, one of them ſpoke in this manner: *Thoſe who are earneſt to obtain any thing from another, do uſually with Prayers, Promiſes, or Threats invade him, ſo that either moved by Compaſſion, Advantage or Fear, he may condeſcend to their deſires; but in Cruel and Avaritious minds; and withal opinionative of their own Power, all theſe waies are to no purpoſe, and in vain, men ſtrive either to humble them with Prayers, to gain them with Rewards, or terrifie them with Threatnings. Wherefore we being made ſenſible, though too late, of your Cruelty, Ambition and Pride, are not come hither to beg any thing from you, nor have any hopes to obtain it if we would, but to put you*

The Speech of the *Milaneſi* Ambaſſadours to the Earl.

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in mind of the Obligations you owe to the People of Milan, *and to declare with how much Ingratitude you have diſcharged them, that in the midſt of ſo many Miſeries we may have at leaſt the ſatisfaction of Reproaching you. You cannot but well remember what Conditions you made after Duke* Philips *death: You then were Enemy to the King and Pope, had deſerted the* Venetians *and* Florentines, *who either out of juſt and freſh reſentments, or becauſe they had no more need of you, were upon the point of Declaring againſt you. You were your ſelf grown weary of the War with the Church, your Forces few, your Friends none, and your Treaſure quite expended, and you in danger of loſing your Eſtates, and your ancient Reputation together; all which had ſoon befallen you, had it not been for our ſimplicity; for we only ſheltred you, moved out of the Reverence we bore to the happy memory of our Duke, with whom you having contracted a former Alliance and new Friendſhip, we believed your love might deſcend from him to us, and that if to his Obligations we joyned ours, that Bond would not only be firm, but inſeperable, and therefore to the former Articles were added either* Breſcia *or* Verona; *what could we give or promiſe you more? or, what could you, I do not ſay of us, but in thoſe times of any one, either have or indeed deſire? You received then from us unhoped for kindneſs, and we have now in return from you unexpected Malice. Nor have you ceaſed from that very hour, to declare the perverſneſs of your intentions; for no ſooner were you General of our Forces, but contrary to all Juſtice you received*

ceived Pavia, *which might have warned us what the end of your Friendſhip would prove; yet we paſt by that injury, ſuppoſing the largneſs of that Conqueſt might have ſatisfied your Ambition; But alaſs! Thoſe who deſire all will never be ſatisfied with part. You then promiſed we ſhould enjoy what you afterwards gained; becauſe you imagined what was given by parcels, might be ſnatch'd again at once, as hath happened ſince the Victory at* Caravaggio, *which being gained with our* Blood *and* Mony, *hath ſince been purſued to our deſtruction. Oh unhappy thoſe Cities who are expoſed to defend their Liberty againſt all Oppreſſours; but more unhappy thoſe who are neceſſitated to truſt the defence of it to Mercenary and diſloyal Arms, like yours: Let poſterity therefore be warned by our Example; though we have not taken warning from that of* Thebes *and* Philip *of* Macedon, *who after having conquered their Adverſary, firſt became their Enemy, and then their Prince. However, we can be accuſed of no other fault, but putting too much confidence in him whom we ſhould not at all have truſted; for your paſt life, the ambition of your mind content with no Eſtate or degree ſhould have deterred us. What hopes could we have in him who had betrayed a Lord of* Lucca, *fleeced the* Florentines *and* Venetians, *ſlighted the Duke, abuſed the King and what's above all, with ſuch violences and injuries perſecuted God and his Church? Why ſhould we think all thoſe States and Princes had leſs power over* Francis Sforza *than the* Milaneſi, *or that he who had ſo often violated his Faith with o-*

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thers would keep it with us. Yet our want of prudence, for which we are to be blamed, is no excuſe for your perfidiouſneſs, nor can it purge that Infamy our juſt Complaints ſhall ſpread through the World, nor releaſe you from the checks of your own Conſcience; for when with thoſe Arms prepared for our defence, you come to ſmite and injure us, you cannot but inwardly condemn your ſelf to the puniſhment appointed for Parricides. And though Ambition ſhould blind you, the whole World, witneſs to your Treachery, will open your eyes, God himſelf will open them, if Treaſons, Perjury, and violated Faith diſpleaſe him: unleſs (as hitherto for ſome occult end he has been) he ſtill continue a favourer Malignant men. Promiſe not then to your ſelf Victory which the juſt anger of God will deny you; and know, we ſhall till death defend our Liberty, and when we can no longer do it, ſubmit it rather to any other Prince then you: or if our ſins be ſo great that we muſt, in deſpite of us, fall into your hands, yet be aſſured, that Dominion you enter into by Fraud and Deceit, will end in you or in your Children with Loſs and Ignominy. Though the Earl were touched to the quick with what the *Milaneſi* had ſaid, yet without any viſible alteration either in words or geſture he anſwered: *That he was content to attribute to their anger and paſſion all the injuries of their imprudent Speeches, to every particular of which he could give an Anſwer, were he before any that could judg of their Differences; that it might*

The Earls Anſwer to the Milaneſi.

might appear he had not injured the Milaneſi; *but only taken care they ſhould not injure him: for they could not but be ſenſible of their practizes after the Victory at* Caravaggio, *when inſtead of rewarding him with* Breſcia *or* Verona, *they ſought a Peace with the* Venetians, *that on him alone all the burden of the Hate might lye, whilſt they enjoyed the fruits of the Victory, the ſweetneſs of Peace, and all the advantages could be extracted from the War. Wherefore they had no reaſon to complain if he had now made that agreement they had firſt deſigned to do, which, if he had but a little delayed, he might with more Juſtice have reproached them with that ingratitude wherewith they now ſcandalize him; which, whether true or no, that God whom they invoke for their revenger, will by the concluſion of the War determine, by which it would appear which had acted with moſt Honeſty, and fought with moſt Juſtice.* The Ambaſſadors gone, the Earl gave order to aſſault the *Milaneſi*, and they prepared for their defence; and with *Francis* and *Jacob Piccinino*. (whom out of the antient enmity between the *Bracchi* and *Sforzi*, had continued faithful to the *Milaneſi*) thought ſo long at leaſt to defend their Liberty till they made a breach between the Earl and the *Venetians*, whom they knew to be faithleſs and inconſtant friends. On the other ſide the Earl who knew this well enough, thought it a wiſe courſe, when Faith was too weak a cord to hold them, to ſtrengthen it with Rewards; and therefore in diſtributing the

the gains of the War, he was content the *Venetians* ſhould, if they took it, have *Crema*, and he with the remaining forces would aſſault the reſt of that State. This Covenant made the *Venetians* continue firm, till the Duke had become maſter of all the *Milaneſe* Dominion, and ſo ſtreightned the City, that deſpairing of any other aid, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Venice*, to beg their compaſſion, and that they would be pleaſed (according to the wont of their Commonwealth) to be favourers of liberty, and not of a Tyrant, who if once he became Lord of their City, they could not bridle at pleaſure: for it was in vain for them to think, he would be kept to the conditions agreed to, or confined to the antient bounds of that Dominion. The *Venetians* had not yet maſterd *Crema*, and being willing, before they changed countenance, to become Lords of that Town, they publickly anſwered them, that they could not, becauſe of their agreement with the Earl, aſſiſt them; but privately they encouraged them to put their fellow Citizens in firm hopes of their friendſhip. The Earl with his forces was already got ſo near *Milan*, that he plundred the ſuburbs, when the *Venetians* (having taken *Crema*) thought fit no longer to defer making an accord with the *Milaneſe*, with whom they entred into Articles: the firſt of which was, that they would fully defend their Liberty; this agreement made, they commanded their forces which ſerved under the

The Milaneſe crave compaſſion of the Venetians.

The Venetians make Peace with the Milaneſe.

the Earl, to withdraw from his Camp to their own, and at the ſame time ſignified to the Earl, the Peace they had made; giving him twenty daies, if he pleaſed, to accept it. The Earl did not much wonder at theſe proceedings of the *Venetians*, for he had long before foreſeen it, and expected every day when it ſhould happen; yet now it was befallen, he could not forbear fretting at it, and feeling the ſame paſſion within himſelf, as *Milaneſe* had done when he abandoned them, he took two dayes to return an anſwer to the Ambaſſadors, who brought him the ſignification of the Peace. In which time he determined to keep a treaty on foot, and yet follow his own deſignes; wherefore he publickly declared he would accept the Peace, and ſent Ambaſſadors with full commiſſion to ratify it; but gave them private inſtructions not to do it, but only with cavils and delays gain time, and to confirm the *Venetians* in a beleif that he meant faithfully, he makes Truce for a Month with the *Milaneſe*, and drawing off his forces from the City, quartered them in the moſt convenient Towns he had in his poſſeſſion about it. By this meanes he procured victory to himſelf, and ruined the *Milaneſi*: for the *Venetians* truſting to the Peace, made ſlow proviſion for War; and the *Milaneſi* ſeeing a Truce granted, the enemy withdrawn, and the *Venetians* their friends, flattered themſelves that all was well, and that the Earl had given or'e his enterprize; which eaſie

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belief did them double prejudice, for in the firſt place they neglected to prepare for their own defence, and then though the Country lay open to the Enemy (it being now Seed time) they ſowed great quantities of grain whereby the Earl might the eaſier famiſh them. All theſe things hurtful to the Enemy proved helps to the Earl, who beſides gained ſo much time to breath and recruit his Army. In all this War of *Lombardy*, the *Florentines* had declared themſelves on neither party; neither had they ſhowed any favour to the Earl, either when he defended the *Milaneſe* or ſince; for indeed the Earl not ſtanding in need of it, had never preſs'd it: only after the rout of *Caravaggio*, being obliged to it by the League, they had ſent aſſiſtance to the *Venetians*: but now Earl *Francis* being left to himſelf, having no other recourſe, was conſtrained inſtantly to urge the *Florentines* to aſſiſt him; which he did not only publickly to the State, but privately to his Friends, and eſpecially to *Coſmo de Medici*, with whom he had alwaies preſerved an inviolable friendſhip, and who in all his undertakings had faithfully Counſelled, and largely ſupplyed him: nor did *Coſmo* forſake him in this neceſſity, but as a private Perſon plentifully contributed to his relief, and encouraged him to proceed, withal moving the City publickly to aſſiſt him: but herein he found ſome difficulty. *Neri de Gino Capponi* was a man very powerful in *Florence*, and he was of Opinion, *It was not for the intereſt of the City that the Earl ſhould take* Milan, *judging it rather for the ſafety of*

The Earl ſolicites the *Florentines* aid.

Italy *that the Peace were ratified, than the War profecuted: for in the firſt place, he was doubtful leaſt the* Milaneſe *out of ſpight to the Duke ſhould ſurrender to the* Venetians, *which would prove ruinous to all; and again, ſhould the Earl become Maſter of* Milan, *he thought ſo mighty an Army, and ſo great a Dominion joyned to it, would render him too formidable; and if he were almoſt inſupportable being but Earl, if once Duke, there would be no enduring him. Wherefore he thought it better for the Commonwealth of* Florence, *and all* Italy, *that the Earl ſhould ſtill preſerve his Reputation in Arms, and* Lombardy *be divided into two Commonwealths, who would never joyn to offend others, and each by themſelves could not do it: to bring which to paſs he ſaw no way, but, by not relieving the Earl, and maintaining their old League with the* Venetians. But *Coſmo's* Friends approved not theſe Reaſons, which they thought *Neri* moved, not becauſe indeed he thought it good for the Commonwealth, but becauſe he would not have the Earl (ſo great a Friend of *Coſmo's*) become Duke, whereby he thought *Coſmo* would grow too powerful. *Coſmo* on the other ſide by Reaſon demonſtrated, *That the aſſiſting the Earl was for the good of* Italy *and that Commonwealth; for it was an Opinion favouring of little wiſdome, to think the* Milaneſe *could ever preſerve their Liberty, for both the Quality of the Citizens, their manner of living, and the ancient Factions in that City, were all contradictory to Civil Government; ſo that of neceſſity the Earl muſt become Duke, or the* Venetians

tians. *Lords of it; and no man could be ſo much a fool as to ſtart a doubt, whether it were better to have the neighbourhood of a potent Friend, or of a very powerful Enemy? nor was it, as he thought, to be doubted that the* Milaneſe *(though they had War with the Earl) would ever ſubmit to the* Venetians; *for the Earl had a Party in* Milan, *but they none; ſo that whenever they deſpaired of longer defending their Liberty, they would rather ſubmit to the Earl than the* Venetians. This diverſity of Opinion held the City in a long ſuſpence, but at laſt they determined to ſend Ambaſſadors to Treat with the Earl, with inſtructions, That if they found him ſtrong, and likely to overcome, they ſhould clap up an Agreement with him, but if not, then uſe Cavils and Delaies. Theſe Ambaſſadors were in their way as far as *Reggio*, when they heard the Earl was already become Lord of *Milan*; for as ſoon as the Truce was expired, he had again drawn his Forces before that City, with hopes, in deſpight of the *Venetians*, ſhortly to poſſeſs it; for they could no way relieve it but by the way of the *Adda*, which he could eaſily block up; and he did not at all fear, ſince it was Winter, that the *Venetians* would encamp on the banks of that River; and before Spring he hoped to gain the Victory, eſpecially ſince *Francis Piccinino* was dead, and the *Milaneſe* had no other Captain but his Brother *Jacob*. The *Venetians* had ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Milan*, encouraging thoſe Citizens to defend themſelves, and promiſing great and ſpeedy ſuccour. There

hapned during Winter divers light Skirmiſhes between the Earl and *Venetians*, and Spring coming on, the *Venetians* with their whole Army, under the Command of *Pandolpho Malateſta*, ſat down on the banks of the *Adda*, where they began to conſult, whether to relieve *Milan* they ſhould aſſail the Earl, and try the fortune of a Battle. *Pandolpho* their General thought this too hazardous an Experiment, knowing the valour both of the Earl and his Army, believing they might eaſily vanquiſh him without fighting, the Earl being in great diſtreſs for want of Corn and Straw; he therefore adviſed they ſhould keep that Poſt, ſo putting the *Milaneſe* in hopes, leaſt in deſpair they ſhould ſurrender to the Earl. This courſe was approved by the *Venetians*, as well becauſe they thought it ſecure, as becauſe they were in hopes, by holding the *Milaneſe* in neceſſity, they ſhould conſtrain them to ſubmit to their Dominion, perſwading themſelves, they would never yield to the Earl, conſidering the Injuries he done them; ſo that the *Milaneſe* were reduced to extream miſery, and that City naturally abounding with Poor, they died in the very Streets with hunger, which cauſed Uproars and Complaints in divers parts of the City, that the Magiſtrates were forct to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevent a general Tumult. The Multitude are long before they are diſpoſed to miſchief, but once diſpoſed, every little Accident moves them; ſo now two Perſons, of no conſiderable Quality, diſcourſing together at the New Gate, of the Ca-

lamity of the City, and their own miſeries, and what means there was yet left for ſafety; others began to gather about them, till at laſt they grew to be a great number; whereupon a Rumour was ſpread about the City, that thoſe about the New Gate were in Arms againſt the Magiſtrates; upon which all the Multitude, who waited but ſuch an occaſion, took Arms, and made *Jaſper* of *Vicomercato* their Leader, and going to the Palace where the Magiſtrates were aſſembled, they fell on with ſuch fury, that all thoſe that could not flie were ſlain; amongſt whom was *Leonard Vinetto* the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, whom, as an occaſioner of their Famine, and rejoycer at their Miſery, they tore in pieces; and thus become (as it were) Princes of the City, they propoſed among themſelves, what was beſt to be done to releaſe themſelves from theſe Afflictions, and procure their quiet and repoſe; every man was of opinion, ſince they could no longer maintain their Liberty, that 'twas their beſt courſe to ſhelter themſelves under the protection of ſome Prince able to defend them: ſome were for King *Alphonſo*, others for the Duke of *Savoy*, and others would have the King of *France* for their Lord; not the leaſt mention was made of the Earl, ſo prevalent was their anger againſt him: but when they could not agree upon any of the others, *Jaſper* of *Vicomercato* was the firſt that named him, affirming, *That if they deſigned to free themſelves from the War they groaned under, there was no other way but chooſing him; for the People of* Milan *ſtood in*

A great Tumult in *Milan.*

The *Venetian* Ambaſſadour therein ſlain.

need of a present and certain Peace, and could never be redrest by the tedious hopes of future relief. Then with the best of his invention he excused the Earls actions, accused the Venetians, *and all the Princes of* Italy, *who would not, either out of Ambition or Avarice permit them to live free, and since they must give away their Liberty, they should give it to one who could and would defend them, that at least with their Servitude they might purchase Peace, and not a more dangerous and hazardous War.* He was with wonderful attention listned to by all, and no sooner had done speaking, but they unanimously cryed out, That the Earl should be called in, making *Jasper* Ambassadour to that purpose, who, by command of the People, went to attend the Earl with this pleasant and joyful News; which the Earl gladly accepted, and entred into *Milan*, as Prince, on the 26 of *February* 1450, and was with wonderful joy received by those who not long before had defamed him with such spight and hatred. This News arriving at *Florence*, orders were dispatch'd to their Ambassadors, who were on their way, not to treat an Agreement with the Earl, but to congratulate the Duke for his Victory. These Ambassadors vvere, by the Duke, very honourably received, for he very vvell knew that, against the power of the *Venetians*, he could not find in *Italy* more faithful nor braver friends than the *Florentines*, vvho being quit of their fears of the Family of the *Visconti*, they believed must now be forct to engage against the Powers of *Arragon*, and *Venice*, for the

Milan surrendred to Earl *Francis*, Feb 26. 1450.

the Kings of *Naples* being of the Houſe of *Arragon* were their Enemies, becauſe of the friendſhip which they knew the *Florentine* People had alwaies kept with the Houſe of *France*; and the *Venetians* ſenſible that the fear they before ſtood in of the *Viſconti*, was now turned over to them, remembring with what earneſtneſs they purſued the *Viſconti*, and fearing the ſame perſecutions, ſought their ruine. This facilitated the New Duke in agreeing with the *Florentines*, and was likewiſe the occaſion that the *Venetians* and King *Alphonſo* entred into a League againſt their common Enemies, and obliged themſelves at the ſame time to begin the War, and that the King ſhould aſſail the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians* the Duke; who, ſcarce ſetled in his Government, they thought not able, either with his own Force, or any aſſiſtance he could have from others, to maintain the War. But becauſe the League between the *Venetians* and *Florentines* was ſtill in force, and the King, after the War at *Piombino*, had likewiſe made Peace with them, they judg'd it not convenient to break the Peace, without ſome pretence to juſtifie the War; and therefore they both ſent Ambaſſadors to *Florence*, who on behalf of their Maſters declared to the *Florentines*, that they had entred into that League, not to offend others, but to defend themſelves. The *Venetians* further complained, that the *Florentines* had given paſſage to *Alexander*, the Dukes Brother, to march by the way of *Lunigiana* with his Forces into *Lombardy*; and had moreover been the Authours

and Adviſers of the Agreement between the Duke and the Marquis of *Mantova*; all which things they affirmed to be prejudicial to their State, and contrary to the Friendſhip they had Contracted together; wherefore they could not but lovingly put them in mind, *That he who offends wrongfully, gives occaſion to others to offend with reaſon; and he who breaks the Peace muſt look for War.* The Senate appointed *Cõſmo* to return them an Anſwer to this Embaſſy, who, in a long and prudent Oration, made rehearſal of all the Benefits which the Republick of *Venice* had received from his City; ſetting forth, *How great a Dominion they had gained by the* Florentine *Mony, Arms, and Counſel*; and declaring, *As the* Florentines *had been the occaſion of the Friendſhip between them, they would never be the cauſe of any breach; but as they had been ever lovers of Peace, ſo they applauded the new League they had entred into, provided it was made for Peace and not for War. 'Tis true, they could not but wonder at the Complaints, ſeeing ſo mighty a Republick make ſo great an account of things ſo light and vain, which, had they been indeed worthy of conſideration, they would have all men know, that their Country ſhould be free and open to any, and that the Duke was of that quality; that to Contract a Peace with* Mantova *he needed not their favour or advice: Wherefore he doubted there was ſome other poiſon hid under theſe Complaints, which, if it were ſo, they ſhould eaſily make it appear, That as the* Florentine *Friendſhip could adminiſter advantage, ſo their Enmity could bring*

bring damage and annoyance. The matter was paſſed over lightly for the preſent, and the Amdaſſadors ſeem'd to go away ſatisfied: But yet the new League, and the meaſures held by the *Venetians* and the King, made both the *Florentines* and the Duke rather fear a new War, than hope a firm Peace: wherfore the *Florentines* entred into a ſtricter League with the Duke, and in the mean time the *Venetians* diſcovered their ill intentions; for they made a League with *Siena*, and baniſhed all the *Florentines*, and their ſubjects, from their City and Dominions: And ſoon after *Alphonſo* did the like, without any reſpect to the League made the Year before, or without any juſt, or ſo much as pretended occaſion. The *Venetians* had a great deſire to gain *Bolonia*, and having gathered together all the Exiles of that City, with a good additional force, they conveyed them into *Bolonia* by the Common-ſewers. Nor was their Entrance known till themſelves gave the Alarum; whereat *Santi Bentivoglio* ſtarting from his ſleep, was told the whole City was poſſeſſed by the Rebels; and though many adviſed him by flight to ſave his life, ſince he could not by ſtaying ſave the State, yet he would out-brave Fortune, and Arming himſelf, encouraged his People, and making head with ſome of his Friends, charged a party of his Enemies, and routing them ſlew moſt, and drove the reſt out of the City; whereupon all men adjudged him to be indeed of the blood of the *Bentivogli*. Theſe Actions and open Attempts made the *Florentines* firmly believe a War would enſue: wherefore they apply-

The *Venetians* plot to ſurprize *Bolonia*.

applyed themselves to their usual course of defence, and Created the Council of Ten, entertained new Officers, sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, *Naples*, *Venice*, *Milan*, and *Siena*, to demand aid of their Friends, clear their own doubts and suspitions of those that were *Neutral*, and discover the Councils of their Enemies. From the Pope they gained nothing, but general assurances of his good Inclinations, and exhortations to Peace: From the King vain Excuses, for his having dismist the *Florentines*, offering to give safe Conduct to whoever desired it; and though he contrived all he could to conceal the Counsels of the intended War, yet the Ambassadors discovered his evil Intentions, and detected many preparations of his designed to dammage the Common-wealth. With the Duke, by various new Tyes and obligations, they fortified their league, and by his meanes contracted Amity with the *Genoveſe*, and their antient differences of reprizals, and many other Quarrels they composed. Notwithstanding that, the *Venetians* all they could, obstructed those compositions, and forbore not soliciting the Emperour of *Constantinople* to forbid all *Florentines*, Trading in his Country: With so much rancour and malice they began this War, and so powerful in them was the desire of Rule, that without any sense of gratitude they sought the destruction of those who had raised them to their greatness. But the Emperour gave no ear to them. The *Florentine* Ambassadors were by the Senate of *Venice* forbid entrance into their Estates, alleadging, That without the Kings participation, having

having contracted ſo cloſe an alliance with him, they could not receive them. The *Saneſi* courteouſly received their Ambaſſadors, fearful of being ſurprized before the League could reſcue them, and they choſe rather to temporize, than incenſe thoſe Arms they could not reſiſt. The *Venetians* and King had deſigned (as hath been ſince conjectured) to have ſent Ambaſſadors to *Florence* to Juſtifie the War; but ſince the *Venetian* would not be admitted into the *Florentine* Territories, and the Kings would not perform that office alone, that Embaſſy was left imperfect; but by this the *Venetians* knew, that the *Florentines* now as much undervalued them, as they had done *Florence* ſome months before. In the height of theſe feares *Frederick* the Third Emperour came into *Italy*, to his Coronation, and, on the 30 *January* 1451, entred into *Florence* with 1400 Horſe, and was by that Senate honourably receiv'd; he ſtaied in that City till the ſixth of *February*, and then continued on his Journey to *Rome*, where he was ſolemnly crowned, and celebrated his Nuptials with the Empreſs, who came to meet him by Sea, and ſo returning into *Germany* in *May*, he again paſt through *Florence*, and had the ſame honours paid him on his return as before. In his way home, to recompence ſome Services done him by the Marquis of *Ferrara*, he granted him *Modena* and *Reggio*. The *Florentines* all this while omitted no preparations for the impendent War, and to gain themſelves more reputation, and terrifie their Enemies, they and the Duke of [illegible] entred into an Offenſive and Defenſive

Frederick the Third Emperour comes to Florence.

The Florentines make a League with France.

ſive league with the King of *France*, which with great Magnificence and Joy they publiſhed throughout *Italy*. In the month of *May* 1452 the *Venetians* thought fit no longer to defer the beginning of the War with the Duke, but with 14000 Horſe and 6000 Foot invaded his Dominions, entring by the way of *Lodi*; and at the ſame time the Marquis of *Montferrat*, led by his own Ambition, or ſet on by the *Venetians*, aſſailed him on the confines towards *Alexandria*. On the other ſide the Duke had brought together an Army of 18000 Horſe and 5000 Foot, and having put ſtrong garriſons into *Alexandria* and *Lodi*, and fortified all places where the Enemy could offend him, with his Army enters the Territories of *Breſcia*, where he did the *Venetians* infinite damage on all ſides, ſpoiling the Country, and Sacking the weaker Towns. And the Marquis of *Montferrat* being defeated at *Alexandria* by the Dukes forces, he could afterwards with more ſtrength oppoſe the *Venetians*, and aſſail their Country. Whilſt the War was thus managed in *Lombardy*, with Various, but inconſiderable accidents: In *Toſcany* likewiſe began the War between King *Alphonſo* and the *Florentines*, which was proſecuted with no more Valour nor danger then that in *Lombardy*. *Ferrando*, Natural Son to *Alphonſo*, came into *Toſcany* with 12000 Men under the Command of *Frederick* Lord of *Urbin*, whoſe firſt enterprize was to beſiege *Foiana* in the Vale of *Chiana*; for the *Saneſi* being their friends, they entred on that ſide into the *Florentine* Territories. This was but a ſmall Caſtle,

and

The Venetians begin the War with the Duke.

The Kings Army enters Toſcany.

and the Walls inconſiderable; The Garriſons were very few, but they accounted brave men in thoſe times; for their whole force was but 200 ſent thither from the Senate, and yet before this mighty Caſtle *Ferrand* encamps with his whole Army, and either through the Exceſs of Courage in thoſe within, or want of it in the beſiegers, he was 36 daies before he won it, which loſs of time gave the Senate leiſure to provide for other places of more moment, reinforce their Army, and put themſelves in a better poſture of defence then before. The Enemy poſſeſſed of this Caſtle, marched forward into *Chianti*, where they were from two ſmall Country-towns repulſed: ſo leaving them, they laid Siege to *Caſtelma*, a Caſtle placed on the Confines of *Chianti*, within ten miles of *Siena*, weak by Art, and weaker by Nature; yet were not theſe two weakneſſes Superior to the weakneſs of the Army that aſſailed it, for after 46 daies Seige they departed with ſhame. So mormidable were theſe Armies, and ſo dangerous theſe Wars, that thoſe Caſtles and Towns which now are ſlighted, as impoſſible to be defended, were then eſteemed as places impregnable. Whilſt *Ferrando* lay in the Country of *Chianti*, he made many inroads and incurſions into the *Florentine* Territory, and entred within 6 miles of the City, to the great fear and Damage of the *Florentine* Subjects, who lay now with their Army, conſiſting of about 8000 Men, under the Command of *Aſtorre* de *Faenza*, and *Giſmond Malateſta*, towards the Caſtle of *Colle*; keeping a diſtance from the Enemy, leaſt they ſhould be

be forced to come to a Battail; for they were of Opinion whilſt they kept intire, they could not loſe the War; for the little Caſtles that were loſt would again by Peace be recovered, and the great Towns were ſecure becauſe the Enemy durſt not aſſail them. Beſides all this the King had an *Armado* of about twenty Foiſts and Gallies, in the Sea of *Piſa*, and whilſt he laid ſiege to *Caſtellina* they attempted the Fort of *Vada*, which by the Negligence of the Governour they took; by which meanes the Enemy much moleſted the adjacent Country, but that moleſtation was ſoon prevented by ſome Souldiers which the *Florentines* ſent to *Campiglia*, who pen'd up the Enemy to the Sea-ſhore. The Pope concerned not himſelf in theſe Wars further, then endeavouring a reconciliation of all parties: but though he medled not with War abroad, he had like to have found danger at home. There was living in theſe times Mr. *Stephen Porcari*, ennobled by Blood and Learning, but much more famous for the Excellency of his Ingenuity. He had a mighty deſire, as moſt men have that are Covetous of Glory, to do or at leaſt attempt ſomething memorable: And thought nothing nobler, than to redeem his Country out of the hands of the Prelates, and reſtore it to its priſtine Eſtate; hoping if he effected it, to be ſtiled at leaſt the new Founder, or ſecond father of the City: The wicked lives of the prelates, and diſcontents of the Barons of *Rome*, made him hope for a happy iſſue; but that which moſt encouraged him were thoſe Verſes of *Petrarchs*, in that Song which beg[ins], *Spirito*

Stephen Porcari diſturbs *Rome*.

Spirito Gentile: where he ſaies,

Sopra il monte Tarpeio Canzon vedrai
Un Cavalier ch'Italia tutta honori
Penſoſo più d'altrui che di ſe ſteſſo.

The Poet ſeems to foretel ſome great Exploits of a *Roman* Knight.

Meſſer *Stephen* knew that Poets were oft-times filled with a divine and Prophetick ſpirit, and therefore thought what *Petrarch* propheſied of in that Song muſt neceſſarily come to paſs, and that he muſt needs be the Man to put in Execution thoſe glorious Exploits, believing himſelf for Eloquence, Learning, Favour and Friends, ſuperiour to any other *Roman*; and having poſſeſſed himſelf with this rapture, could not govern himſelf with any caution, but by Words, Converſation, and manner of Living diſcovered himſelf; ſo that the Pope grew jealous of him, and to hinder him from doing miſchief, Confined him to *Bolonia*, giving order to the Governour of that City, to ſee and ſpeak with him once a day. This firſt ſhock did not at all ſtartle Meſſer *Stephen*, but rather with more diligence he purſued his deſign, and, in the moſt wary manner he could, he held Treaties with his Friends, and oftentimes went and returned from *Rome* with ſuch celerity, that he ſtill ſhewed himſelf to the Governour at the time limited: but at laſt, thinking he had drawn in enow to ſecond him, he reſolved no longer to delay the trial, but gave order to his Friends in *Rome*, That at a ſet time they ſhould provide a ſplendid Supper, whither all the Conſpirators were invited; with order, That every

one

one. ſhould bring with him his moſt truſty Friends, promiſing to be with them by that time Supper was done. All was provided according to his directions, and Meſſer *Stephen* came amongſt them into the Houſe where they Supt; So that as ſoon as they had done Supper, he appeared to the Conſpirators clad in Cloth of Gold, and with Chains and other Ornaments, to give him more Majeſty and Reputation; and having kindly embraced them, he, with a long Oration, exhorted them to be of good Courage, and diſpoſe themſelves to ſo glorious an Enterprize: Then he ordered how the Deſign ſhould be performed, directing one Party, next Morning early, to ſeize the Popes Palace, and the other, through the City, to call the People to Arms. But the matter came to the Popes Ear that Night (ſome affirm by the infidelity of the Conſpirators; others ſay, he knew Meſſer *Stephano* was in *Rome*) however it was, that very Supper Night the Pope cauſed Meſſer *Stephen*, and moſt of his Company to be apprehended, and afterwards, according to their deſerts and follies, put to death. This diſaſtrous end had his Deſign, and certainly, however his intention may be commended, none but will blame his judgment; for though ſuch Enterprizes may fill the imagination with ſome ſhadow of Glory, they have alwaies certain loſs attends their execution. The War had now held in *Toſcany* almoſt a year; and the Spring 1453, and Seaſon for Armies drawing into the Field being pretty well advanced, the Lord *Alexander Sforza*

Mr. *Stephen* put to death.

1443.

Sforza, Brother to the Duke, comes to aſſiſt the *Florentines* with 2000 Horſe; with which the *Florentine* Army being well recruited, they reſolved upon regaining what they had loſt, and with little trouble retook all their Towns. Then they went to beſiege *Foiano*, which for want of care in the Commiſſaries was ſackt ſo, that the Inhabitants being diſperſed, they were with great difficulty brought back to their Habitations, till upon the grant of large Priviledges, and other Rewards, they returned. The Fort of *Vada* was likewiſe regained, for the Enemy, ſeeing they could not keep it, forſook and burnt it. And whilſt theſe things were doing in the *Florentine* Army, the *Aragon* Forces, not having the confidence to draw nigh their Enemies, were retreated towards *Siena*, and made many incurſions into the Lands of the *Florentines*, committing many Robberies, outrages, and violences. Nor did the King fail to make trial of other waies to aſſail the Enemy, by making them divide their Forces, and by new Troubles and Aſſaults to beat them out of heart. *Gerardo Garribatorti* was Lord of the Vale of *Bagno*; who alwaies, either out of Friendſhip or Obligation, had, together with his Anceſtors, been Souldiers or Penſioners to the *Florentines*. This man held a private Correſpondence with King *Alphonſo*, for the exchanging his Eſtate for another, to be given him by the King, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. This deſign was revealed to the *Florentines*, who, to ſound his intentions, ſent a Meſſenger to remember him both of his, and his Prede-

ceſſors Obligations, and to exhort him to continue faithful to the Commonwealth. *Gerardo* ſeemed to admire at it, and with deep Oaths and Execrations proteſted, ſo treacherous a Thought never came in his mind, and that he would have gone himſelf to *Florence*, to remain there as a pledge of his Faith; but being himſelf indiſpoſed, what he could not do himſelf he would make his Son do; whom he preſently conſigns to the Ambaſſadour to carry as a Hoſtage to *Florence*. Theſe words, and theſe demonſtrations, made the *Florentines* believe *Gerardo* in the Truth, and his Accuſers vain Fellows and Lyars; whereupon they remained fully ſatisfied. But *Gerardo* with more inſtance continues his Treaty with the King, and having ſoon concluded it, the King ſends *Frier Puccio*, a Knight of *Jeruſalem*, with ſufficient Force to take poſſeſſion of the Caſtle and Lands of *Gerrardo*. But the People of *Bagno*, being faithful to the *Florentines*, very unwillingly promiſed obedience to the Kings Officers. *Frier Puccio* had already taken poſſeſſion of the whole Vale of *Bagno*, ſave only the Caſtle of *Corsano*. There happened to be with *Gerardo*, at the time of his making this Reſignation, one *Anthony Gualandi* a *Piſan*, both young and Couragious, who was highly diſpleaſed at this Treaſon of *Gerardo*'s, and having conſidered the ſituation of the Fortreſs, and the countenance of the Garriſon, whom he perceived diſſatisfied and diſcontented, ſeeing *Gerardo* ſtanding at the Gate of the Caſtle to let in the Kings People, ſlips between him and the Gate, and with both

The Vale of *Bagno* betrayed to the King.

A *Piſan*'s fidelity to the *Florentines*.

both his hands thrusts *Gerardo* out, and commands the Guards to shut the Fortress against him, and maintain it for the people of *Florence*. The Report of which being heard in *Bagno*, and other adjacent places, all the People took Arms against the *Arragonians*, and erecting the Standards of *Florence*, drove them thence. As soon as this matter was heard at *Florence*, they imprisoned *Gerardo*'s Son, that was delivered them as Hostage, and sending Forces to defend that Country, reduced it from a Principality to a Lieutenancy. But *Gerardo* (Traytour both to his Lords and to his own Son) though with difficulty escaped, leaving his Wife, Family, and all his Substance in his Enemies hands. This success was much valued in *Florence*; for, had the King had the fortune to become Lord of it, he might with small expence, at his pleasure have made incursions into the Vale of *Tevere* and *Casentino*, and so annoyed the Republick, that they could not have kept their Forces entire to oppose the *Arragon* Army, then lying near *Siena*. The *Florentines*, besides the preparations made in *Italy*, to suppress the force of the adverse League, had sent Messer *Agnolo Acciaivolo* their Ambassador to the King of *France*, to Treat with him, to give leave to *Renate* of *Anjou* to come into *Italy*, in favour of the Duke and them; whereby he might both defend his Friends, and being in *Italy*, watch some opportunity to regain his Kingdom of *Naples*: towards which, they promised him assistance of Men and Mony: So that whilst the War was managed, in the manner we have related,

The *Florentines* send an Ambassadour to *France*.

in *Lombardy* and *Toſcany*, the Ambaſſadour made an Agreement with *Renate*, that he ſhould, by the latter end of *June*, come with 2400 Horſe into *Italy*, and that at his arrival at *Alexandria*, the League ſhould pay him 30000 Florins, and afterwards, during the War, 10000 Florins a Month. Purſuant to this accord, he being about to paſs into *Italy* was ſtopt by the Duke of *Savoy*, and Marquis of *Montferrat*, who, being Friends to the *Venetians*, denyed him paſſage. Whereupon the King was by the *Florentine* Ambaſſadour adviſed, that, to add to his Friends Reputation, he ſhould return back to *Florence*, and by Sea carry ſome of his Forces into *Italy*, and in the mean time, endeavour to perſwade the King of *France*, to Mediate with the Duke of *Savoy* to grant paſſage to the reſt: According to his Advice it was done; for *Renate* came by Sea into *Italy*, and his Forces at the King of *France*'s inſtance were admitted into *Savoy*. King *Renate* was moſt honourably received by Duke *Francis*, and the *French* and *Italian* Troops being joyned, aſſailed the *Venetians* with ſo much vigour, that in a ſhort time they recovered all the Towns taken in the Territory of *Cremona*; and not therewith content, poſſeſſed themſelves of the greater part of the *Breſcian* Country; and the *Venetian* Army not thinking it ſecure to keep the Field, was drawn under the Walls of *Breſcia*. But Winter approaching, the Duke thought fit to draw the Army into Quarters, aſſigning *Piacenza* for the Kings. Thus they lay all the Winter 1453 without doing any thing, and when Spring was

Renate of Anjou comes into Italy.

was come, and 'twas thought the Duke would draw into the Field, and drive the *Venetians* out of all their Territories on the Main, the King let the Duke understand, that he must of necessity return to *France*. This determination seem'd as strange, as it was unlookt for by the Duke, and very sensibly it afflicted him; but though he went in Person to dissuade the Kings departure, he could neither by Prayers or Promises prevail, only he offered to leave part of his Forces, and send *John* his Son to serve the League in his stead. This going away of *Renates* did not at all displease the *Florentines*, for having recovered their Castles they stood no longer in fear of the King; and on the other side, they desired the Duke should recover no more than his own Lands in *Lombardy*. *Renate*, after his departure, sent his Son *John* into *Italy*, who stay'd not long in *Lombardy*, but came to *Florence*, where he was honourably received. The Kings departure made the Duke very inclinable to Peace, and the *Venetians*, *Alphonso*, and the *Florentines*, being all weary, were extream willing to it; besides, the Pope had with all earnestness pressed, and did still press it: for this same year *Mahomet*, the Great Turk, had taken *Constantinople*, and made himself Lord of all *Greece*, which extreamly frightned all Christians, and especially the *Venetians* and the Pope, who both thought they already felt his Arms in *Italy*. Wherefore the Pope prayed the *Italian* Powers to send their Ambassadors with authority to conclude an universal Peace: they all obeyed, and coming to dispute the merits of the Cause,

Renate returns again for *France*.

there was found ſome difficulty in the Treaty; the *Venetians* demanded from the Duke *Cremona*, and the Duke from them *Bergamo*, *Breſcia* and *Crema*; ſo that it was thought impoſſible to reſolve this difficulty. But what at *Rome* many thought ſo hard to be done, at *Milan* and *Venice* proved eaſie; for whilſt they were ſtill treating Peace at *Rome*, the Duke and *Venetians*, on the 9 of *April* 1454, concluded it, by virtue of which, each was to be mutually reſtored to the Towns and Lands they had before the War, and the Duke had liberty to recover the Towns taken from him by the Duke of *Savoy*, the Marquis of *Montferrat*, and other *Italian* Princes, and a Months time was allowed to ratifie it. The Pope, *Florentines*, and with them the *Saneſi*, and other leſſer Potentates, ratified it within the time; and not content therewith, a Peace was concluded between the *Florentines*, Duke, and *Venetians* for 25 years. King *Alphonſo* was the only Prince of *Italy* that ſeem'd diſſatisfied with this Peace, thinking it ſomewhat entrenched upon his Reputation, being received into it not as a principal but as an adherent; wherefore he kept long in ſuſpence, and could not let his intentions be underſtood. But the Pope and other Princes having ſent him many ſolemn Embaſſies, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded by them, and eſpecially by the Pope; and together with his Son, entred into this League for 30 years; and the Duke and King contracted double alliance, by intermariage of their Daughters to each others Son. Notwithſtanding, that there might yet remain ſome ſeeds of War in *Italy*, he would not conſent to the Peace, till the Col-

Peace fully concluded.

Colleagues had granted him leave, that he might, without injury to them, make War upon the *Genoveſe*, *Giſmond Malateſta*, and *Aſtorre* Prince of *Faenza*. And now the accord compleated, *Ferrand* his Son who was ſtill at *Siena*, returned into the Kingdom, having by his Expedition into *Toſcany* gained no Dominion, but loſt a great many Men. This univerſal Peace being thus brought to an iſſue, all the fear remaining was, leaſt King *Alphonſo*'s enmity to the *Genoveſe* ſhould diſturb it. The *Venetians* (according to their cuſtom when Peace is made) having diſcharged *Jacob Piccinino*, one of their Leaders, he joyning himſelf with ſeveral other Captains out of employment, came to *Romania*, and from thence into the Country of *Siena*, where *Jacob* ſitting down, began a War, and took many Towns from the *Saneſi*. In the beginning of theſe Troubles, and commencement of the year 1455 died Pope *Nicholas*, and to him ſucceeded *Calixtus* the Third. This Pope to ſuppreſs the new and neighbouring War, under *John Ventimiglia* his General, drew together as great a Power as ſo ſuddenly he could (and joyning with the Dukes and *Florentine* Forces, who were likewiſe brought on foot to ſuppreſs theſe diſorders) ſent them againſt *Jacob Piccinino*; and the two Armies engaging near *Bolſena*, though *Ventimiglia* was taken Priſoner, yet *Jacob* loſt the day, making a flying retreat to *Caſtiglione* in *Peſcaia*, and had not King *Alphonſo* ſupplied him with Mony, he had been utterly undone, which made many think this Attempt of *Jacobs* was made by the Kings Order. Whereupon *Alphonſo* ſuppoſing him-

Jacob Piccinino begins freſh Troubles.

Jacob routed at *Bolſena*.

ſelf diſcovered, to reconcile himſelf to the Colleagues and the Peace, from which he ſeem'd by this feeble War to have alienated himſelf, ordered things ſo, that *Jacob* ſhould reſtore to the *Saneſi* their Towns, and they give him 20000 Florins, and this Agreement made, he received *Jacob* into the Kingdom. In theſe times though the Pope buſied himſelf in bridling *Jacobs* Violencies, yet he was not wanting to take order for the ſupport of Chriſtianity, which he beheld ſadly oppreſſed by the *Turks*: wherefore he ſent into all Chriſtian Provinces Ambaſſadors and Preachers, to perſwade the Princes and People to Arm themſelves in defence of their Religion, and with their Eſtates and Perſons encourage an Expedition againſt the common Enemy: Whereupon in *Florence* great Alms were gathered, and many wore the ſign of the Croſs as a badge, that they were ready to ſerve in Perſon: Many ſolemn Proceſſions were likewiſe made; nor was there any thing wanting, either in the publick or private Perſons, to demonſtrate, They would be of the firſt rank of *Chriſtians* both for Counſel, Men, and Mony, to forward ſuch an Enterprize. But the heat of this *Croiſado* was cooled by a new Accident which intervened. The *Turk* being with his Army at the Siege of *Belgrade*, a Town ſcituate in *Hungary* on the River *Danube*, was by the *Chriſtian* Army routed, and himſelf wounded: So that the Pope and other Chriſtians having outworn their Fears, conceived for the loſs of *Conſtantinople*, the preparations for War became lukewarm, and by the death of *John*, the *Vaivod* General in that Victory

The Pope endeavors a War againſt the *Turk*.

Victory grew quite cold. But to return to Affairs in *Italy*. In the year 1456 the War begun by *Jacob Piccinino* being put an end to, ſo that Arms among Men were quite laid aſide, it appeared as if God had taken them up; for there happened ſuch prodigious Storms of Wind in *Toſcany*, that the like was never heard of before, and the effects of them will ſeem admirable to, and aſtoniſh future Generations: *On the 26 of* Auguſt, *an hour before day, from the* Adriatick *Sea, oppoſite to* Ancona, *there aroſe a dark, thick and foggy Cloud, extending it ſelf for the ſpace of two miles, which croſſing* Italy *to the Sea oppoſite to* Piſa, *forced by ſuperiour power (whether natural or ſupernatural) was torn aſunder and divided, and the broken pieces furiouſly agitated, and ſeeming to fight and joſtle each other, ſometimes mounting up to Heaven, and then again with great fury deſcending, and often whirl'd about with violent motion, ſtill ſending before them a moſt tempeſtuous Wind, with ſtrange and monſtrous flaſhes and flames of fire; and from theſe broken and confuſed Clouds, thoſe furious Winds, and frequent Lightnings, iſſued a dreadful noiſe, more terrible than ever any Earthquake or Thunder that had ever been heard, to the terrour and amazement of all Beholders, who could think nothing but that the World was at an End, and that Fire, Air, Earth and Water, were returning into their firſt* Chaos. *Wherever this prodigious Storm reached, it produced ſtrange and monſtrous effects; but the moſt notable of al happened about the Caſtle of St.* Caxiano. *This Caſtle is about eight miles from* Florence, *on the Hills that part the Vale of* Piſa *and* Greve:

Strange Storms in Toſcany.

This

*This furious Tempeſt paſſing between that Caſtle and the Borough of St.*Andrew, *ſeated upon the ſame Hill, touched not St.*Andrews, *and only in the paſſing threw down ſome Turrets and Chimneys in St.*Caxiano; *but about as much forward as it is between one of thoſe Towns and the other, many Houſes were levelled with the very ground, and the Roofs of the Churches of St.* Martin, *at* Bignuolo *and St.*Maria della Pace, *whole, as they ſtood upon them, were carried above a mile diſtance: a Carryer likewiſe, with his Mules, in the Valley, a good diſtance from the Road, were found dead: All the ſtubborneſt Oaks, and ſtrongeſt Trees, that would not bend to this violence, were not only torn up by the roots, but carried a good diſtance from the place where they grew. So that when the Storm was over, men were ſtruck with wonder and admiration to behold the Country waſte and deſolate, Churches and Houſes ruined, Poor people lamenting to ſee their Habitations thrown down, and under their Ruines their Beaſt and Family buried: ſo that whoever ſaw or heard it, was affected with horrour and compaſſion.* Certainly by this God intended rather to threaten than chaſtize *Toſcany*; for had this Storm entred into any City, where Houſes and Inhabitants were thick, as it did among the Oaks and Trees; and ſmall diſperſed Houſes, certainly it had cauſed that ruine and deſtruction can hardly be imagined. But God was pleaſed with this ſmall Example to revive in mens minds the memory of his Power. But to return where I left. King *Alphonſo* was, as I ſaid before, diſſatisfied with the Peace, and ſince the War he had, by *Jacob Piccinino*, moved

without

without any reaſonable occaſion, had produced no important effect, he would make trial what thoſe would produce which by the Articles of the League he had power to move. And therefore in the year 1456, he by Sea and Land makes War on the *Genoveſe*, deſirous to reſtore the State to the *Adorni*, and take it from the *Fregoſi* who now Governed; and in the mean time ſends *Jacob Piccinino* againſt *Giſmond Malateſta*, but he having placed ſtrong Garriſons in his Towns, cared not much for *Jacob*, ſo that on this part the King did no great matter; but his Attempt on *Genova* created him and his Kingdom more War than he had a mind to. *Peter Fregoſa* was now *Doge* of *Genova*, who fearful he could not ſupport himſelf againſt the Kings power, reſolved at leaſt to give what he could not keep himſelf, to one that could defend him from his Enemies, and might ſome time or other, for ſuch a ſervice, give him a proportionable reward; to which end he ſends Ambaſſadors to *Charles* the Seventh of *France*, offering him the Dominion of *Genova*. *Charles* accepts the offer, and ſends *John* of *Anjou*, ſon of King *Renate* to take poſſeſſion of that City, who ſometime before having left *Florence* was returned to *France*; and *Charles* perſwaded himſelf that *John* having learnt many of the *Italian* Cuſtoms, might Govern that City better than any other; and he was likewiſe in hopes he might find an opportunity to make from thence an expedition to *Naples* to recover that Kingdom which *Alfonſo* had taken from his Father. *John* comes therefore to *Genova*, where he was received as Prince, and all the Forces of

King *Alphonſo* makes War on the *Genoveſe*, and on *Giſmund Malateſta*.

that

that City and State delivered into his poſſeſſion. This accident much diſpleaſed *Alfonſo*, who doubted he had engaged a too important Enemy againſt himſelf; yet not at all diſmayed, he courageouſly purſues his enterprize, and had already brought his *Armado* under *Villa Marina* to *Porto Fino*; where ſeized with a ſudden diſtemper he dies. By his death, *John* and the *Genoveſe* were delivered from this War; and *Ferrand* who ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom, grew extreamly ſuſpicious; for having now an Enemy of ſuch reputation in *Italy*, and being jealous of many of his Barons, whoſe fidelity he doubted, and whoſe inclination to novelty he knew, he was not without cauſe fearful leaſt they ſhould take part with the *French*: he likewiſe feared the Pope (whoſe ambition he was ſenſible of) leaſt whilſt he was yet unſetled in his Kingdom, he ſhould endeavour to deprive him of it: All his hopes was in the Duke of *Milan*, who was no leſs concerned for the Kingdom, then *Ferrand* himſelf; for he was jealous ſhould the *French* become maſters of it, they might likewiſe graſp at his eſtates, to which he very well knew they laid a claim. Wherefore no ſooner was *Alphonſo* dead, but that Duke ſent Letters and Forces to *Ferrand*; theſe to give him aid and reputation, thoſe to exhort him to be couragious; aſſuring him he would not in any neceſſity forſake him. The Pope after the death of *Alphonſo*, deſigned to give that Kingdom to *Peter Lodowick Bergia* his Nephew: but to give his deſign a more ſpecious pretence, he declared, that he intended to reduce it under that empire of the Church,

Death of *Alphonſo* King of *Naples*.

The Pope deſigns that Kingdom for his Nephew but dies.

and

and to that purpoſe perſwaded the Duke not to give any incouragement to *Ferrand*: offering him thoſe Towns he was already poſſeſt of in that Kingdom. But in the height of theſe thoughts, and contrivances of new troubles, Pope *Calixtus* dies; to whom ſucceeded *Pius* the ſecond, a *Saneſe*, of the Family of the *Picolhominy*, and called *Æneas*: this Pope imploying all his thoughts for the good of Chriſtendom, and the honour of the Church, ſetting aſide all private intereſt and paſſion, at the intreaty of the Duke of *Milan*, crowns *Ferrand* King; judging, he might rather preſerve the peace of *Italy* by maintaining him in his poſſeſſion, than either by favouring the *French* claim, or uſurping that Kingdom (as *Calixtus* would have done) to himſelf: in requital of which favour, *Ferrand* makes *Anthony*, the Popes *Nephew*, Prince of *Malphi*, and gives him his natural daughter to wife; he likewiſe reſtores *Beneventum* and *Terracina* to that Church. And now *Italy* ſeemed in perfect quiet, and the Pope diſpoſed himſelf to promote an expedition againſt the *Turks*, as *Calixtus* had begun to do, when there happened a diſſention, between the *Fregoſi* and *John* Lord of *Genova*; which kindled a more important War, then any had bin before. *Petrino Frigoſi* was retired to a Caſtle of his upon the *Riviera*; not thinking himſelf recompenſed by *John* of *Anjou* in any proportion, to the deſerts of himſelf or his family, who had bin the only inſtruments to make him Prince of that City, ſo that at laſt they came to open enmity. This was very pleaſant to *Ferrand*, as the only meanes and path to his ſecurity; wherefore he

The *Fregoſi* attempts to ſeize *Genova*.

ſupplied

ſupplied *Petrino* with Men and Mony, hoping by him to drive *John* from that State: whereof *John* having intelligence, ſends into *France* for aid, with which he marches to encounter *Petrino*, but found him by the great aſſiſtance given him ſo ſtrong, he thought it beſt to retreat, and guard the City: Into which *Petrino* one night enters, and takes poſſeſſion of ſome places; but day appearing, he was by *Johns* forces encountred, and ſlain, and moſt of his People kill'd or taken. This Victory encouraged *John* to venture an Expedition againſt the Kingdom; and in *October*, in the year 1459, with a great *Armado* he ſails to *Baia*, and thence proceeds to *Seſſa*, where he was by that Duke received. The Prince of *Terranto*, the *Aquilani*, and many other Cities and Princes joyned with *John*; ſo that the whole Kingdom was in confuſion; which *Ferrand* ſeeing, had recourſe to the Pope and Duke; and that he might have the fewer Enemies, makes Peace with *Giſmond de Malateſta*; at which *Jacob Piccinino* was ſo angry, being a profeſt Enemy of *Giſmonds*, that deſerting his Service he joyns with *John*. *Ferrand* therefore ſends Mony to *Frederick* Lord of *Urban*, and with as much ſpeed as he could, gathers together (for thoſe times) a good Army, and on the River *Sarni* faces his Enemy; but in the ingagement *Ferrand* was routed, and moſt of his beſt Captains taken: After this defeat, the City of *Naples*, and ſome few Princes and Towns, continued faithful to *Ferrand*, but the greateſt part yielded to *John*. *Jacob Piccinino* would have had *John* immediately upon this Victory, have marched directly up

Petrino' Fregoſi ſlain.

John of Anjou makes an Expedition to regain Naples.

to

to *Naples*, and poſſeſt himſelf of the Head of the Kingdom: but *John* would not, ſaying, *He would firſt poſſeſs himſelf of all the other part of his Dominions, and then aſſault him*; thinking, that if he were Maſter of all the other Towns, *Naples* would ſoon be gained. But taking this courſe, he took away Victory from himſelf, for he did not conſider, that the Members more eaſily follow the Head, than the Head the Members. After his defeat, King *Ferrand* had ſaved himſelf in *Naples*; whither thoſe of his Subjects, that were driven from their Eſtates, fled to him for ſhelter; and, in the gentleſt manner he could, he gathers Mony and makes a little head of an Army: he ſends afreſh for Aid to the Pope and Duke, who both ſupplyed him in a larger manner, and with more expedition than before. So that now grown ſtrong, he marches out of *Naples*, and having begun to recover Reputation, recovers ſome of the loſt Towns. Whilſt War raged thus in the Kingdom, happened an Accident, which took from *John* both his Reputation and Power to overcome. The *Genoveſe*, weary of the covetous and inſolent Government of the *French*, took Arms againſt the Kings Governour, and forced him to fly into the little Caſtle: In this Attempt the *Adorni* and *Fregoſi* were agreed, and ſupplied by the Duke of *Milan* with Men and Mony, as well to recover the State as defend it. So that King *Renate*, who was coming with a Fleet to the aſſiſtance of his Son, hoping he might regain *Genova*, by means of the little Caſtle as he was landing his Forces, was ſo totally routed, that he was forced with ſhame to return to

Genoa rebels from *John* of *Anjou*.

Province

Province. This News coming to the Kingdom of *Naples* quite daunted *John* of *Anjou*; yet he would not give over, but for ſome time maintained the War, aided by thoſe Barons, who for their Rebellion againſt *Ferrand*, thought they ſhould find no pardon. At laſt, after ſundry Accidents, a pitcht Battle was fought between the two Royal Armies, in the year 1463, near *Troja*; wherein *John* was defeated: yet was not the loſs of the Battle of that conſequence, as the loſs of *Jacob Piecinino*, who deſerted him and joyned with *Ferrand*: ſo that having no Forces to rely upon, he retreats to *Iſtria*, and thence returns to *France*. This War laſted four years, and he loſt that by his own Neglect, which the Valour of his Souldiers had ſeveral times won. In this War the *Florentines* were not at all concern'd, though true it is, King *John* of *Arragon*, newly raiſed to that Kingdom, by the death of *Alphonſo*, did by his Ambaſſador requeſt them to aſſiſt his Nephew *Ferrand*, as they were obliged by the League made with *Alphonſo* his Father. To which the *Florentines* anſwered; *They were not bound to help the Son in a War the Father had brought upon himſelf; and that, as it was begun without their Counſel, ſo it ſhould be continued and ordered without their Aid.* Whereupon the Ambaſſadors, on their Kings behalf, proteſted the penalty of the Obligation, and Damages, and in a rage departed the City. So that the *Florentines* were all the time of this War, as to Forreign Affairs, in peace; but they enjoyed not that quiet within, as in the next Book ſhall be fully declared.

John driven out of the Kingdom.

The End of the Sixth Book.

THE Florentine Hiſtory

Written by

NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL.

BOOK VII.

THoſe who read the former Books may perhaps imagine that a writer of the *Florentines* Affairs, may have extended too largely the relations of things done in *Lombardy*, and the Kingdom; yet, neither hitherto have I, nor ſhall I for the future avoid ſuch Narratives, for though I never promiſed a Hiſtory of *Italy*, yet I judge it proper to make a relation of the moſt notable things happened in that Province, becauſe the omitting them would render our Hiſtory more obſcure, and conſequently much leſs delightful; eſpecially ſince from the actions of other people and Princes of *Italy* oftentimes aroſe thoſe wars, in which the *Florentines* were forced to concern themſelves, thus

from the war between *John* of *Anjou*, and King *Ferdinand*, proceeded that enmity and implacable hatred, which enſued afterwards between *Ferdinand* and the *Florentines*, and particularly between *Ferdinand* and the Family of the *Medici*, for the King complained not only, that himſelf was not aſſiſted in that war, but that his Enemies were by the *Florentines* favoured, and his diſpleaſure therefore conceived againſt them was the occaſion of exceeding many inconveniences, as ſhall hereafter be declared; and becauſe I have written at large ſuch matters as have happened without the City, till the year 1463, 'twill be requiſite for the better relating thoſe troubles, which in that time happened within the City, to look ſome years backwards. But firſt, according to my cuſtom let me by way of diſcourſe ſay, that who ever thinks any Republick can be united, flatters himſelf with a vain hope; true it is that ſome diviſions are prejudicial, and others again beneficial to a Commonwealth. Thoſe are attended with prejudice and damage, which are with Factions and Followers accompanied; and thoſe produce benefit and advantage which without Factions and Followers are maintained. Since then no Founder of a Common-weal can ſo eſtabliſh it that no enmities ariſe in it, he ought at leaſt to provide, that no Factions get head, to which end he is to conſider that in all Cities, Citizens gain themſelves reputation either by publick or private means:

means: publick Renown is attained to by Victory in the field, by the taking of Towns, by the careful and diſcreet diſcharging of Embaſſies, or by the giving to the State prudent and ſucceſsful Counſels: private means by which reputation is attained to, are gratifying particular Citizens, defending them from puniſhment, ſupplying them with money, advancing them undeſervedly to honour and employment, and entertaining and pleaſing the Commonalty with ſports and gifts; and from hence ariſes parties, followers and factions. And though reputation thus attained may offend, yet it may likewiſe be uſeful, when not incumbred with factious followers, becauſe it is only fonnded on private good; for though 'tis impoſſible by the wiſdom of man to prevent animoſities from ariſing among ſuch Citizens, yet having no followers, that for their private ends adhere to them, they cannot prejudice the Common-wealth, but may well advantage it, for in aſpiring to their own ends, they muſt neceſſarily advance the intereſt of the State, and by being continually watchful over one anothers actions, they take care that no Law nor civil Conſtitutions be infringed. The enmities of *Florence* were always accompanied with factions and followers, and were therefore always prejudicial, nor was any victorious faction longer united than the adverſe party continued in ſome power, but as ſoon as their enemies were quite extinct, then they

divided among themſelves, having no fears to reſtrain, nor rule nor order to bridle them. The Faction of *Coſmo de Medici* got, in the year 1434 the ſuperiority, and becauſe the oppreſſed party had ſtill ſome life, and was ſupported by many mighty men they through fear continued united and tolerably quiet, ſo long as they lived free from errour and ſcandal, nor had by ſiniſter dealings incurred the hate of the people; ſo that whenever the Government had occaſion of the people to re-eſtabliſh their Authority, they found them always ready to give unto the chief of that Faction the *Balia*, or what ever Authority they deſired, and thus from the year 1434 to 1455, being one and twenty years, they were ſix times confirmed in the *Balia* by the uſual election of the Councils. There were in *Florence* (as we have ſeveral times before mentioned) two mighty Citizens *Coſmo de Medici* and *Neri Capponi*, of which *Neri* was one who had by publick means attained his reputation, ſo that he had many Friends, but few Followers; on the other ſide *Coſmo* having both by publick and private ways aſpired to his greatneſs, had Friends and Followers in abundance. Theſe two during their lives continuing united, eaſily obtained of the people what ever they deſired, becauſe they had love mixed with their Authority, but in the year 1455 *Neri* being dead, the Faction found it difficult to be confirmed in their Authority, and *Coſmo*'s particular Friends

Coſmo de Medici, Neri Capponi.

Friends (and thoſe of the moſt powerful in the State) were the occaſion of it, for ſtanding no more in awe of the adverſe party now quite extinct, they had a deſire to diminiſh his Authority, which proved the beginning of thoſe diviſions that afterwards in the year 1466 happened, for thoſe to whom the Government appertained, in the Councils (where they freely debated the publick adminiſtrations) adviſed, that it was convenient the *Balia* ſhould not be reaſſumed, but that the purſes ſhould be filled up, and the Magiſtrates choſen by lot according to the favour and method of the former imburſations. To allay this humour *Coſmo* had but one of theſe two remedies to chooſe, either with thoſe Followers which ſtill adhered to him to ſeize the Government by force, and compel all the reſt to ſubmit, or elſe to let matters proceed, and in time let his Friends know, that they deprived not him, but themſelves of their Reputation and Government; of which two remedies he choſe this laſt, for he knew that by this way of choice, the purſes being full of his Friends, he could not run any hazard, and might at pleaſure reſume the Government. The City thus again reduced to the chooſing Magiſtrates by lot, the univerſality of the Citizens believed they had regained their Liberty, and that the Offices ſhould no more be ſupplied according to the will of the mighty men, but as they themſelves thought fit; ſo that now one great

mans followers, and then anothers were beaten, and they who uſed to behold their houſes full of ſuitors and preſents, now beheld them empty both of men and gifts, they likewiſe ſaw themſelves become equal with thoſe which had been accounted far inferiour to them, and their equals were become their Superiours; neither were they reſpected nor honoured, but many times laugh'd at, and derided; and in the Streets and Market places the people took a freedom to diſcourſe what they pleaſed, either of them, or the Common-wealth, ſo that they ſoon became ſenſible not *Coſmo*, but they had had loſt the Authority; all which *Coſmo* diſſembled, and when ever any thing pleaſing to the people was debated, he was the firſt to promote it: but that which moſt of all terrified the great men, and gave *Coſmo* an opportunity of being again ſought after, was the reviving of the *Cataſto* of 1427. whereby Taxes were to be impoſed by rule of Law, and not by the will of men. This Law paſſed, and Commmiſſioners to put it in execution elected, made all the great Citizens aſſemble together, and going to *Coſmo*, intreat him that he would be pleaſed to reſcue both them and himſelf from the hands of the people, and reſtore the State to that reputation which might increaſe his power, and recover their honour, to which *Coſmo* made anſwer, that he was content, provided the Law were made orderly by conſent of the people, and

not

not by any force, for otherwiſe he would have no concern in it, nor ſhould it once be moved; they therefore attempted the Councils by a Law to eſtabiſh a new *Balia*, but obtained it not, whereupon all the great men returned to *Coſmo*, and in moſt humble manner beſought him to conſent to a Parliament, which *Coſmo* utterly denyed out of deſign to make them ſenſible of the errour they had committed, and becauſe *Donato Cochi* then *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice, would without his conſent have ſummoned a Parliament, *Coſmo* procured him to be ſo ſcoffed and ſcorned at by the Senators that ſate with him in Office, that growing mad upon it, he was ſent home to his houſe for a Lunatick, nevertheleſs leſt he ſhould at length ſuffer things to run ſo far out of order that they would not ſo eaſily when he had a mind to it, be retrieved: *Luke Pitti* (a ſelf-willed daring man) being elected *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice, he judged it convenient to leave the whole management of the affair to his diſcretion, that if there happened any miſcarriage, the fault might be imputed to *Luke*, and not to him; *Luke* at his entrance into the Magiſtracy, made ſeveral propoſitions to the people for reviving the *Balia*, and being refuſed it, threatened thoſe which ſate in the Councils with haughty and injurious words, and ſoon after proceeded to deeds, for in *Auguſt* 1453, on the vigils of S. *Laurence* having filled the Palace with armed men, and ſum-

Luke Pitti Gonfaloniere.

moning the people into the *Piazza*, he made them by force conſent to that, which voluntarily they would never have agreed to: the Governnment thus reaſſumed, and the *Balia* created, the chiefeſt of the Magiſtracy (by the advice of a few) to begin that Government with terror, which they had gotten by violence, confined *Meſſer Girolamo Machiavel* with ſome others, and many they deprived of their Offices; *Girolamo* for not obeying his confinement was proclaimed Rebel, and going up and down *Italy*, ſtirring up all Princes and States againſt his Countrey, was in *Lunigiana* by the treachery of one of the Senators there, taken, and brought to *Florence* where he died in priſon. This kind of Government for eight years that it laſted, was moſt violent and inſupportable, for *Coſmo* through age and diſtemper grown weak and indiſpoſed, not being able to give that attendance he was wont on the publick Affairs, a few Citizens at their pleaſure prey'd upon, and ſpoiled the City: *Luke Pitti* as a reward of his good ſervice done to the Commonwealth, was knighted, and he to teſtifie no leſs gratitude to the State, than the State had done to him, would have thoſe formerly called *Priors of the Trades* (that at leaſt they might reſerve the Title of what they had loſt poſſeſſion of) now to be called *Priors of the Liberty*, and whereas the *Gonfalonieres* uſed formerly to be ſeated on the right hand of the Rectors or Governours,

Girolamo Machiavel confined.

he

he ordered they ſhould hereafter take place in the midſt of them; and that God might ſeem to be a partaker in theſe actions, publick proceſſion and prayers were ordered to be made with thankſgivings for the reſtoration of their Honours. *Meſſer Luke* had been both by the Senate and *Coſmo* very richly preſented, and after their examples the Citizens were even at ſtrife who ſhould firſt bring his gift, ſo that it was generally ſuppoſed the whole value of his preſents could not amount to leſs than twenty thouſand Duckats, which raiſed him to ſuch a heighth of reputation, that not *Coſmo* but *Luke* governed the City, & ſwelled him to that confidence, that he began to erect two Princely and magnificent Palaces, one in *Florence*, the other at *Rucciano* about a mile diſtant from the City: but that in *Florence* was much larger and more ſtately than ever till that time had been attempted to be built by any private Citizen; and to bring it to perfection he was thrifty of all advantages, and ſpared not to make uſe of any extraordinary means, for not only particular Citizens and private perſons preſented him, and ſupplyed him with neceſſaries for the building, but the whole Commonalty and people laid their hands to the work; and beſides every Bandito, Thief, or Aſſaſſinate, or any other offender that ſtood in fear of puniſhment, if he were any way uſeful to the work might in theſe Fabricks find a ſecure Sanctuary; though the other Citizens built not like him

Luke Pitti's ſtately buildings.

yet were they no leſs tyrannical and rapacious than he; ſo that whileſt *Florence* had no enemy from abroad to oppoſe it, it was deſtroyed and waſted by its own Citizens. During theſe Tranſactions, happened as hath been ſaid before, the war in the Kingdom, and the Pope in *Romania* had ſome skirmiſhes with the Family of the *Malateſti*, from whom he had a great mind to take *Rimini* and *Ceſena*, then in their poſſeſſion; ſo that in this enterpriſe, and in ſtudying how to carry on a war againſt the Turks, Pope *Pius* ſpent his Papacy: whileſt *Florence* continued in its troubles and diviſions. The firſt breach in *Coſmo*'s party began in the year 1455 upon the occaſion before recited, which by his prudence as we have declared, was for that time compoſed, but in the year 1464 *Coſmo*'s Diſtempers and weakneſs increaſed ſo violently that he departed this life; both his friends and enemies lamented his death, for thoſe who for reaſons of State loved him not, beholding the extortion of the Citizens, whileſt he yet lived (out of reverence to whom they were ſomewhat reſtrained) feared now that he was gone they ſhould be utterly ruined and deſtroyed, for in *Peter* his ſon they had little confidence, who though he was a good man, yet being both ſickly and unſetled and raw in the Government, he was forced to bear reſpect to others, who now run on in a full carriere of rapine and oppreſſion, having no reins to curb or reſtrain

War in the Kingdom & *Romania*.

Death of *Coſmo de Medici*.

ſtrain them. *Coſmo* was the moſt famous and renowned Citizen (not being a man of war) that ever had lived in the memory of mankind, either in *Florence* or any other City what ever, not only exceeding all other Citizens of his time in Riches and Authority, but likewiſe in Liberality and Prudence; for that which among many other admirable qualities, entitled him moſt of all to the being eſteemed the prinripal perſon of his Countrey, was his being liberal and magnificent, there ſcarce being a Citizen that lived in any repute, but he had lent great ſums of money to, and oftentimes upon information of the neceſſities of perſons of quality without being asked, he ſupplyed their occaſions; nor were his magnificent buildings leſs evidences of the greatneſs of his mind, for beſides his reparations he founded the Convents and Churches of S. *Mark*, and S. *Laurence*, and the Monaſtery of S. *Verdiano* in *Florence*, the Church of *Gerolamo*, and the Abbey thereto belonging in the mountains of *Fieſole*, and a Church of Friars Minors in *Magello*, and moreover in the Abbeys of the Holy Croſs of the *Servi*, of *Agnoli* and S. *Ninuato*, he erected many ſumptuous Altars and Chappels, all which Churches and Chappels, beſides the erecting them he endowed and furniſhed with all ornaments neceſſary for Divine Service, to which ſacred Buildings and Dedications may be added his private Fabricks, whereof are ſtill extant one Palace in the City more than

The ſumptuous Building of *Coſmo de Medici.*

than becoming a perſon of his quality, and four in the Countrey at *Careggio*, *Fieſole*, *Caſaggivolo* and *Febrio*, all houſes fitter for Princes than private Citizens, and leaſt his magnificent edifices in *Florence* ſhould not give him ſufficient Renown, he built in *Jeruſalem* an Hoſpital for poor and diſeaſed Pilgrims, in which work he expended vaſt ſums of money, yet though theſe Palaces and all his actions and works were ſo majeſtical, and he lived in *Florence* like a Prince, yet all his deportments were tempered with ſo much Prudence, that he never exceeded the bounds of common modeſty and civil order, for in his converſation, houſe-keeping, attendance, and marrying his children, he ſurpaſſed not any other diſcreet and civil Citizen, for he knew that an extraordinary pomp and train, which is dayly viewed and gazed at, contracts more envy than ſolid actions covered with honeſt modeſty; when therefore he was to match any of his ſons, he ſought not the alliance of Princes, but married *John* to *Cornelia* of the Family of the *Alexandri*, and *Peter* to *Lucretia* of the Family of the *Tornabuoni*, and of his Grandchildren by *Peter*, he married *Bianca* to *William Pazzi*, and *Anne* to *Bernard Ruſſelai*; and as to intrigues of State, the affairs of neighbouring Princes, and civil Government at home, none of his time were equal to him for intelligence, by which means only, in ſo great variety of Fortune, in ſo giddy a City, and ſuch inconſtant

conſtant Citizens, he preſerved himſelf in the Government for one and thirty years, for his Wiſdom gave him foreſight, and diſcerning inconveniences afar off, he either prevented them, or if they grew upon him, made ſuch preparation they could not offend him; whereby he not only ſuppreſſed domeſtical and civil ambition, but prevailed over many Princes with ſuch happy prudence and ſucceſs, that who ever joined in league with him and his Countrey, became at leaſt equal, if not ſuperiour to their enemies, and who ever oppoſed them, loſt either their time, money or eſtate; which the *Venetians* can ſufficiently teſtifie, who when united with him againſt *Philip* had always the better, but diſunited were firſt by *Philip* and afterwards by *Francis* oppreſſed and overcome; and when they joined with *Alfonſo* againſt the Common-wealth of *Florence*, *Coſmo* by his ſole credit reduced both *Naples* and *Venice* to ſuch ſtraits for want of money, that they were forced to accept what peace he pleaſed: and indeed all the difficulties *Coſmo* encountred with, both without and within the City had iſſues glorious to himſelf, and diſgraceful to his enemies, ſo that civil diſcords always added to his Authority at home, and war without to his renown and reputation abroad, for to the Dominions of the Common-wealth he annexed *Borgo a Sancto Sepulchro*, *Montidoglio*, *Caſentino* and *Valdibagna*. Thus by his virtue and fortune he oppreſſed his enemies,

mies, and advanced his friends. He was born in the year 1389 on the feaſt of S. *Coſmo* and *Damian*, the beginning of his life was full of troubles, as [illegible]ars by his baniſhment, impriſonment and danger of death. After the ruine of Pope *John* with whom he went to the Council of *Conſtance*, he was forced to ſave his life by flying in diſguiſe; but from forty years of age he lived very happily, ſo that not only thoſe who adhered to him in publick adminiſtrations, but all they who managed his monies throughout *Europe* were partakers of his felicity, whereby many Families in *Florence* were raiſed to great riches, as the *Tornabuoni*, *Benci*, *Portinari* and *Saſſeti*, and indeed every one depending on his counſel and fortune enriched themſelves, but though in building Churches, and diſtributing of Alms, and doing good Offices he was at a continual expence, yet he would oft-times lament to his friends, that he could never ſpend ſo much to the honour of God, but he ſtill found himſelf in his books a debtor. He was but mean of ſtature, and brown of complexion, yet of a very venerable preſence, not learned, but very eloquent and of excellent natural parts, officious to his friends, charitable to the poor, edifying in converſation, wary in counſel, ſpeedy in execution, and in his ſpeeches and replyes witty, yet grave. In his firſt baniſhment *Rinaldo* ſending to tell him that *the Hen was ſet*, he replyed, *That*

ſhe

ſhe could hatch but ill ſo far out of her neſt: and to ſome other Rebels, who told him they could not ſleep, he ſaid, *he believed it ſince they had rob'd themſelves of their reſt*, of Pope *Pius* perſwading Princes to take Arms againſt the Turk, he ſaid, *an old man undertakes a young enterprize*, To the *Venetian* Ambaſſadours who with thoſe of King *Alphonſo* came to *Florence* to make their complaints againſt the Republick, he ſhewed his bare head, and having asked them what colour it was off, they anſwered white, to which he replyed, *Ere long your Senators will have heads as white as mine*: ſome few hours before his death, his wife asking him why he ſhut his eyes, *to uſe them to it*, replyed he: ſome Citizens after his return from Baniſhment, telling him that he ſpoiled the City, and offended God by baniſhing ſo many honeſt men, he replyed, *better a City ſpoiled*, *than loſt*, *and that two yards of ſhorn cloth made an honeſt man*, and *that Eſtates were not defended with Beads in mens hands*: which ſayings gave occaſion to his enemies to aſperſe him, that he loved himſelf more than his Countrey, and this world more than the other: many other of his ſayings might be recorded, which as unneceſſary I omit. *Coſmo* was moreover a great lover and advancer of learned men, and therefore brought *Argiropolo* the *Grecian*, one of the learnedſt men of thoſe times to *Florence*, that he might inſtruct the *Florentine* youth in the Greek Tongue, and

other

other ſciences he was skill'd in, he entertained in his own houſe *Marſilius Ficinus* that ſecond Father of the *Platonick* Philoſophy, whom he intirely loved; and to the end he might with better conveniency apply himſelf to his ſtudy, and *Coſmo* have him always ready at hand, he gave him a dwelling houſe near his own Palace of *Carreggio*. This his Wiſdom, theſe his Riches, this manner of Living, and this Fortune were the cauſes that in *Florence* he was both loved and feared by his Fellow-Citizens, and by the Princes not only of *Italy*, but of all *Europe* marvellouſly eſteemed, leaving foundations to his Poſterity that they might in virtue equal him, and in Fortune far excel him, and attain to as great Authority and Reputation as himſelf had enjoyed in *Florence*, not only in that City, but in all *Chriſtendom*. However towards the latter end of his life he underwent ſome very ſenſible afflictions, for of his two ſons *Peter* and *John*, the laſt in whom he placed all his confidence dyed, and the other was infirm, and unapt to manage either publick or private affairs; whereupon cauſing himſelf after his ſons death to be carried about his houſe, he was heard ſighing to ſay, *This houſe is too great for ſo ſmall a Family.* His generous mind was likewiſe troubled, that he had not as he thought ſufficiently enlarged the *Florentine* Dominions with ſome honourable conqueſt, and it grieved him the more, becauſe he perceived himſelf to have been deceived

ceived by *Francis Sforza*, who had promiſed him while he was yet Earl, that aſſoon as he had made himſelf Duke of *Milan*, he would win *Lucca* for the *Florentines*, but he failed him, for having got the Dukedom, his mind changed, and he thought it beſt to enjoy that Dominion in quiet, and therefore performed not his promiſe, either to *Coſmo* or any other, nor waged any wars but what were neceſſary for his own defence, which fretted *Coſmo* exceedingly that he ſhould have taken ſo much pains, and been at ſo much charge to advance an ingrateful and perfidious man, he likewiſe found that the infirmities of his body made him incapable of following either publick or private affairs with that vigour and diligence he was wont, ſo that he beheld both one and the other go to ruine, the City ſpoiled by its own Citizens, and his eſtate waſted by his children and miniſters, all theſe accidents diſquieted him towards his latter end, yet he dyed full of Glory, and in the heighth of Renown both at home and abroad, all the Citizens, and all Chriſtian Princes condoling his death with his ſon *Peter*. He was buried with great ſolemnity, the whole City attending his Herſe to the Church of S. *Laurence*, where he was interred, and by publick command in Sculpture over his Tomb he was ſtiled THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. If in recording the Virtues and Actions of *Coſmo*, I have imitated thoſe who write

the lives of Princes, and not thoſe who write general Hiſtories, let none admire at it, for having been ſo extraordinary a man, he deſerves to be mentioned with extraordinary Honour. Whileſt *Florence* and *Italy* were in this ſtate and condition, *Lewis* King of *France* was aſſaulted with fierce and powerful war raiſed by his Barons, with the aſſiſtance of *Francis* Duke of *Britany*, and *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, which kept him ſo employed, that he could afford no aſſiſtance to *John* Duke of *Anjou* in his expedition againſt *Genoua* and the Kingdom, yet judging he ſtood in need of ſome ones help, the City of *Savona* remaining in the power of the *French*, he makes *Francis* Duke of *Milan* Lord of that City, withal letting him know that if he pleaſed he might with his free lieve poſſeſs himſelf of *Genoua*, which *Francis* willingly hearkens to, and either by the reputation of the Kings friendſhip, or by the favour of the *Adorni* makes himſelf Lord of *Genoua*, and that he might not appear ingrateful to the King for his kindneſs, he ſends into *France* his eldeſt ſon *Galeazzo* with fifteen hundred horſe to his aſſiſtance. Thus *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* and *Francis Sforza* became the one Duke of *Lombardy* and Prince of *Genoua*, and the other King of all the Kingdom of *Naples*, and having contracted an alliance together, they begun to conſult how they might fortifie themſelves in their eſtates, ſo as they might live, and ſecurely enjoy them, and after

Francis Duke of *Milan* becomes Lord of *Genoua*.

after their deaths leave them peaceably to their Heirs; and upon the point they judged it neceſſary that the King ſhould ſecure himſelf of thoſe Barons, who in the wars with *John* of *Anjou* had fought againſt him, and that the Duke ſhould endeavour to extirpate the *Braccheſchi* his natural and implacable enemies, and who under *Jacob Piccinino* were grown into great reputation, for he was now the greateſt Captain remaining in *Italy*, and having no ſetled Dominion, it was requiſite for thoſe who had Eſtates to ſtand upon their Guard, and eſpecially the Duke who from example given by himſelf, judged he could neither ſecurely enjoy his Dominions himſelf, nor leave them peaceably to his ſons ſo long as *Jacob* lived; wherefore the King ſought an accomodation with his Barons, and to aſſure himſelf of them, managed things ſo politickly that he had happy ſucceſs in it, for the Princes who yet waged war with the King ſaw their manifeſt ruine, if they longer held out, and if they came to an agreement muſt be left at diſcretion, ſo that though at firſt they were ſomewhat doubtful, yet becauſe men always ſtrive to avoid certain miſchiefs, it follows that Princes may the eaſier deceive thoſe of leſſer power, ſo theſe Princes ſeeing the manifeſt danger of the war, truſted to the Kings word, and yielding themſelves into his hands, were afterwards by him in ſundry wayes, and upon various occaſions cut off, which ſo terrified *Jacob Piccinino*,

who then lay with his Forces at *Solmona*, that to ſecure himſelf, and take from the King all opportunities of oppreſſing him, by the mediation of his friends he treated a reconciliation with the Duke, who having made him ſuch offers that he could not expect greater; *Jacob* throws himſelf into his hands, and accompanied only with one hundred Horſe goes to *Milan* to preſent himſelf to Duke *Francis*. *Jacob* had a long time been a Soldier under his Father, and with his Brother firſt for Duke *Philip*, and afterwards for the people of *Milan*, ſo that by long converſe he had gained many friends in that City, and a general good will, which his preſent condition increaſed, for the proſperous Fortune, and the preſent power of the *Sforzeſchi* had begotten them envy, and the adverſity and long abſence of *Jacob* had created in the peoples minds compaſſion towards him, and a longing deſire to ſee him, all which appeared at his coming, for few of the Nobles but went to meet him, & the ſtreets where he paſſed were thronged with people deſirous to ſee him, and the fame of his Arms was every where diſcourſed of, which Honours haſtened his ruine, for they blew the coals of the Dukes jealouſie, and inflamed his deſire of getting rid of him, which the more covertly to do, he declared his pleaſure to have the marriage ſolemnized with *Druſiana* his natural Daughter, to whom *Jacob* had been long ſince contracted, and then agrees with *Ferdinand*

land to entertain him as his Captain General with one hundred thousand Florins imprest: after which conclusion *Jacob* with an Ambassadour from the Duke and his wife *Drusiana* goes to *Naples* where he was joyfully and honourably received, and for many days entertained with much feasting and jollity; but having asked lieve to go to *Solmona* where his Forces lay, he was by the King invited into the Castle, and dinner ended, together with *Francis* his son made prisoner, and shortly after put to death. Thus our Princes of *Italy* jealous of that virtue in others, they had not in themselves, strove to extirpate it, till having utterly rooted out all seeds of it, they exposed this Province to that ruine, which shortly wasted and destroyed it. Mean while Pope *Pius* having composed the affairs of *Lombardy*, seeing the time was proper for it, there being an universal peace, began to promote a war against the Turks, pursuing those rules and methods before set down by his predecessors, to which all Princes promised either money or men, and *Matthew* King of *Hungary*, and *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* offered to go in person, and were by the Pope made Generals of the Expedition; and so far the Pope proceeded, that he left *Rome* and went to *Ancona*, where he had ordered the general *Rendezvouz*, the *Venetians* having promised Shipping to transport the Army into *Sclavonia*; soon after the Popes arrival at *Ancona* there

Pope *Pius* promotes an Expedition against the Turks.

aſſembled thither ſuch multitudes of people that all the proviſions of that and the neighbouring Countrey would not ſuffice, but hunger began to oppreſs the Army, beſides there wanted money to buy things neceſſary, and weapons to arm the naked, and *Matthew* and *Charles* neither of them appeared, and the *Venetians* ſent only one of their Captains with ſome Gallies, rather to ſhow their Pomp, or to boaſt they had kept their faith, than to tranſport ſuch an Army. Here the Pope being old and weak, in the heat of theſe troubles and diſorders dyed, after whoſe death every one returned home. This Pope dead, in the year 1465. *Paul* the ſecond a *Venetian* born, was elected to the Papacy: and to the end other Principalities of *Italy* might likewiſe change their Government, the year following dyed *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, after having been ſixteen years Lord of that Dukedome, and *Galeazo* his ſon was declared Duke. The death of this Prince made the diviſions of *Florence* increaſe, and ſooner come to effect. After *Coſmo*'s death his ſon *Peter* remaining Heir both of his Riches and Honours, called unto him *Diotiſalvi Neroni* a man of great Authority and Reputation among the chiefeſt of the Citizens, and in whom *Coſmo* repoſed ſo much truſt, that at his death he ordained *Peter* to have recourſe to him for advice in the management both of his private and publick affairs: *Peter* acquaints *Diotiſalvi* with his

Death of *Sforza* Duke of *Milan*.

fathers

thers bequeſt, and the confidence he had in him; and that he might be obedient to his father as well dead as living, craves his counſel as well to the management of his eſtate, as to the Government of the City; and to begin with his own private affairs, he made all his Factors and Miniſters give in unto him the ſtate of their Accounts, to the end ſeeing the order and diſorder of every thing, he might as his prudence ſhould dictate, adviſe him; *Meſſer Diotiſalvi* promiſed his utmoſt diligence, but having viewed and well examined all the Accounts, and finding in them great diſorders; like a man that had more reſpect to his own ambition, than to the love of *Peter*, or gratitude to his father, he imagined that he might eaſily rob *Peter* of his Reputation, and cheat him of that inheritance and power his father had left him; to which purpoſe he comes to *Peter* with a counſel that ſeemed very juſt and reaſonable, but under which his ruine lay concealed: he declared to him the diſorder of his affairs, and how much ready money he muſt of neceſſity provide to uphold his Credit and Reputation in the State, telling him there was no honeſter way to remedy thoſe diſorders than by calling in the monies were owing to his father, as well by ſtrangers as Citizens; for *Coſmo* to gain Followers in *Florence*, and Friends abroad was very liberal in lending his money, ſo that by that very means he became creditor to ſums of

no ſmall importance: *Peter* thinks the counſel good and honeſt, willing to repair himſelf with his own, but no ſooner did he cauſe theſe moneys to be demanded, but the Citizens reſented it, as if he had not asked his own, but demanded what was theirs, reviling him as ingrateful and covetous, and without any reſpect railing againſt him; whereupon *Diotiſalvi* ſeeing *Peter* by his advice fallen into this univerſal and popular diſgrace, joined himſelf with *Luke Pitti*, *Agnolo Acciavolo* and *Nicholas Soderini*, determining to take from *Peter* both Reputation and Authority. Theſe men were by divers reſpects moved to this Deſign: *Luke* deſired to ſucceed in *Coſmo*'s ſtead, being already grown ſo great, that he ſcorned to be obſervant to *Peter*; *Diotiſalvi* who knew *Luke* unfit to be the head of the Government, imagined if *Peter* were removed, the whole reputation might in a ſhort time fall upon him; *Nicholas Soderini* was deſirous that the City ſhould live more at freedom, and the Magiſtrates govern without controul; *Meſſer Agnolo* bore a particular hate to the *Medici*, upon this account: *Rafael* his ſon had ſometime before taken to wife *Aleſſandra* of the *Bardi* with a very great portion, ſhe whether through her own peeviſhneſs or their malice, received very ill uſage from her husband and father in Law; whereupon *Lorenzo Harione* her Kinſman, out of compaſſion to the young Lady, went one night with many armed men

Conſpiracy againſt the *Medici*.

and

nd reſcued her out of *Agnolo*'s houſe; the *Acciavoli* made complaint of this injury done them by the *Bardi*, the cauſe was referred to *Coſmo*, who gave ſentence that the *Acciavoli* ſhould reſtore *Aleſſandra* her portion, and then her return to her husband ſhould be left at her own arbitriment; *Agnolo* thought *Coſmo* did not deal friendly with him in this ſentence, but ſince he could not be revenged on him, he now determined to be revenged on his ſon: but how different ſoever the occaſions were, theſe conſpirators all declared one and the ſame intention, affirming they would have the City governed by the Magiſtrates, and not by counſels of a few. The hatred of *Peter*, and ill will towards him very much increaſed, by many Merchants becoming bankrupt, who laid all the fault upon *Peter*, his unexpected calling in his money, having thereby ſtretched their Credit, and to the great diſgrace and prejudice of the City, forced them to fail; to which may be added his treating a marriage with *Clarice* of the Family of the *Orſini*, and his eldeſt ſon *Laurence*, which gave every one full ſcope to revile him, publickly venting abroad that he diſdained to match his ſon with a *Florentine*, nor could contain himſelf longer as a private Citizen, and therefore prepared to uſurp the principality, for he that ſcorns to have his fellow Citizens of his kindred, had a mind to make them his ſervants, and therefore 'twas unreaſonable he ſhould expect

pect them to be his friends. And now the leaders of this conſpiracy concluded they had the victory in their hands, for the greateſt part of the Citizens cheated with the name of Liberty, wherein thoſe engaged againſt him had cloathed their deſign, adhered to them. Theſe humours thus ſet a boiling in mens hearts, it was thought convenient by thoſe who liked not theſe civil diſcords to endeavour by ſome new found feaſt or jollity to ſettle, or at leaſt divert the minds of men, for generally the idle people are the inſtruments of all alterations. To remove this idleneſs a little out of the way, and turn mens minds upon other thoughts, than that of the Government, the year being gone round ſince *Coſmo*'s death they took occaſion to give the City ſome divertiſement, appointing two ſolemn Shows, as has been uſual in other Cities; one was a repreſentation of the three *Magi* following the Star of the Nativity from the Eaſt, which was done with ſo much Pomp and Magnificence, that in the contriving, ordering and acting it, it found the whole City near five months employment. The other was a Tournament where the choice youth of the City exerciſed their skill and valour againſt the moſt famous Cavaliers of *Italy*, and among the *Florentine* youth *Laurence* the eldeſt ſon of *Peter Medici* gained the moſt Honour, for not by favour, but by his own valour he won the richeſt prize. Theſe Triumphs ended, the Citizens returned

turned to their former diſcontents, and e-very one with more eagerneſs than before urged his own opinion, from whence many differences and troubles aroſe, which by two accidents were mightily increaſed; one was that the Authority of the *Balia* was expired, and the other the death of *Francis* Duke of *Milan*, whoſe ſon *Galeazo* the new Duke, having ſent Ambaſſadors to confirm the Articles made between his father and this City, which among other things concluded that there ſhould be a yearly ſum of money paid to the Duke. The leaders of the Faction averſe to the *Medici*, took occaſion from this demand, and publickly in the Councils oppoſed the conſenting to it, alleadging that League was made with *Francis*, and not with *Galeazo*, ſo that by *Francis* his death, the obligation dyed, nor was there any reaſon to revive it, for that there was not in *Galeazo* that virtue had been in *Francis*, and by conſequence they could not, nor ought not to expect thoſe advantages from him, and though they got but little by *Francis*, from him they muſt look for leſs, but if any Citizen had a mind to entertain him to maintain his own private power, it was a thing oppoſite to civil order and the Liberty of the City: *Peter* on the other ſide urged that it was imprudence, out of avarice to loſe ſo neceſſary a friend, and that nothing could conduce more to the ſecurity of this Common-wealth and all *Italy*, than a firm league

with

with the Duke, that the *Venetians* ſeeing them united, might not entertain any hopes, either through feigned friendſhip, or open war to oppreſs that Dukedom: for no ſooner ſhould they hear that the *Florentines* were alienated from him, but they would have their arms in their hands, and finding him young and raw in the Government, either by force or fraud ſubdue his Country, the conſequences of which muſt needs be the ruine of *Florence*. Theſe reaſons were not accepted, and the enmities and heart-burnings began to appear, and of both factions ſeveral parties met every night, the friends of the *Medici* in the Monaſtery of the *Little Croſs* or *Croceta*, and the Adverſaries at *La Pieta*, who ſollicitous for *Peters* ruine had made ſeveral Citizens ſubſcribe themſelves favourers of the deſign. And among other times, being one night met together, they held a particular Council about their manner of proceeding, and every one was willing and ready to abaſe the power of the *Medici*, but they differed in the way; thoſe who were moſt temperate and modeſt, adviſed, that ſince the Authoty of the *Balia* was expired, they ſhould find means to oppoſe its being revived, and that done, it was their intention, that the Counſels and Magiſtrates ſhould govern the City, whereby in a ſhort time *Peters* power would come to nothing, and with his loſs of reputation in the Government, he would likewiſe loſe his credit in Merchandiſe,

Open diviſion.

diſs; for his Eſtate lay ſo, that if he were reſtrained from making uſe of publick monies, he muſt certainly be ruined, and then there would be no more danger of him, but the City without blood or baniſhment would have regained its Liberty, which every good Citizen ought to deſire; but if they went about to act by force, infinite dangers muſt be hazarded, for whoever is falling, if he be thruſt forward by others, will catch hold to ſupport himſelf; beſides when nothing extraordinary is acted againſt him, he would have no occaſion or pretence of arming himſelf, or engaging friends; or if he did, it would turn to his greater reproach, and breed ſuſpition in every man, thereby contributing to his own ruine, and giving others advantages to oppreſs him: others of the aſſembly diſliked this delay, affirming time would prove his and not their friend, for if they conſented to be ſatisfied with an ordinary proceeding, *Peter* run no hazard at all, and they a great one; for the Magiſtrates, though his enemies, would permit him to live in the City, and his friends, as it happened, in 58 would make him Prince: That indeed the preceding Counſel was good, but it was not wiſe, and therefore it was beſt utterly to ruine him, whilſt the minds of men were incenſed againſt him, and the means to effect it, was by arming themſelves within, and entertaining in their pay the Marquiſs of *Ferrara* without, to prevent their being diſarmed:

diſarmed; and then when there chanced a Senate for their purpoſe make ſure work. Upon this they concluded, expecting the entrance of the next Senate, by which they meant to govern themſelves. Among theſe Conſpirators was *Nicholas Fidino*, who officiated as their ſcribe, he withdrawn by more certain hope, diſcovered all the debates of his enemies to *Peter*, and produced a liſt of the Conſpirators and Subſcribers. *Peter* was ſtartled to ſee the number and quality of the Citizens engaged againſt him, and adviſing with his friends determined likewiſe to get ſubſcriptions on his ſide, giving the charge of it to ſome of his moſt truſty friends, and ſuch levity and inconſtancy found he in the minds of the Citizens, that many ſubſcribed in his favour, who had before ſubſcribed againſt him. Whilſt all things were in this perplexity, the time came for the new Election of the Supreme Magiſtracy, and *Nicholas Soderini* was choſen *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice: It was a Miracle to ſee with what concourſe, not only of worthy Citizens, but of all ſorts of people he was accompanied to the Palace; and by the way they put a Garland of Olive upon his head, to ſignifie that on him depended the Safety and Liberty of his Country. By this and many other experiences, it may appear how diſadvantageous it is to enter into any Office or Power with the general voice and opinion of the World. For men not being able to perform what is

The Conſpiracy againſt *Peter Medici* diſcovered.

Nicholas Soderini Gonfaloniere.

expected

expected from them, the generality having formed in their imaginations things impossible to be executed; they fall from that height of their esteem to a depth of contempt and infamy. *Thomas* and *Nicholas Soderini* were brothers. *Nicholas* was more daring and couragious, but *Thomas* much the wiser; who preserving an intire friendship for *Peter Medici*, and knowing his brothers humour how he only desired the Liberty of the City, and that the State might be setled without damage to any one, perswaded him to a new imbursation, whereby the purses might be filled with such Citizens as loved to live in freedom, by which means the Government would according to his desires be confirmed and setled without any tumult or injury to any person. *Nicholas* readily gave ear to his brothers counsels, and employed himself in these vain imaginations, during the whole time of his Magistracy, and by his own friends, the heads of the Conspiracy, he was suffered so to consume it, for envy would not suffer them to let *Nicholas* have the honour of restoring the Government, hoping they might some other time, under some other *Gonfaloniere* effect it their own way. Thus *Nicholas* his Magistracy expired, who begun many things, but finished none, and went out with as much dishonour as he had entred with applause. This accident gave courage to *Peters* Faction, confirming his friends in their hopes of success, and making those who

who before ſtood Neuters adhere to him; ſo that the ballance ſeeming even on both ſides both parties for ſome months without any tumult temporiſed: Notwithſtanding *Peters* party every day gained ſtrength, which his enemies growing ſenſible of, they conſulted together, and imagined they might eaſily do that by force, which either they knew not how to do, or would no more attempt by the Power of the Magiſtrate; they therefore concluded to kill *Peter*, who now lay ſick at *Carreggi*, and to that purpoſe ſent to the Marquiſs of *Ferrara* to advance with his forces towards the City, and *Peter* once ſlain, they determined to run armed into the *Piazza*, and make the Senate eſtabliſh ſuch a Government as ſhould be moſt to their liking; for though all the Lords were not their friends, yet they hoped to make thoſe, who were not, give their conſent for fear, *Meſſer Diotiſalvi*, the better to diſſemble his intention often viſited *Peter*, reaſoning with him about uniting the City, and giving him his advice. All theſe practices had been diſcovered to *Peter*, and beſides *Meſſer Dominico Martegli* gave him intelligence how *Franciſco Nerbi*, brother to *Meſſer Diotiſalvi*, had ſolicited him to be of their party, aſſuring him of certain victory and happy ſucceſs. Whereupon *Peter* determined to be the firſt in arms, taking occaſion from his enemies practices, with the Marquiſs of *Ferrara*. He pretended therefore to have received a Letter from *John Bentivoglio*,

Peter de Medici arms.

Bentivoglio, Prince of *Bolonia*, acquainting him that the Marquiſs of *Ferrara* was near the River *Albo* with his Forces, and publickly declared he was deſigned for *Florence*. And thus upon theſe advertiſements *Peter* took Arms, and in the midſt of a great multitude of armed men comes into *Florence*: whereupon all the followers of his party likewiſe armed themſelves, and their adverſaries did the like; but not in ſo good order as *Peter*'s party; for theſe were prepared, and had their inſtructions what to do: but the other had no warning at all of it. *Meſſer Diotiſalvi*'s houſe ſtanding near *Peter*'s, he thought himſelf not ſecure there, and therefore ran up and down, ſometimes to the Palace, to perſwade the Lords to make *Peter* lay down his Arms, ſometimes to find out *Luke* to keep him firm to their party. But he that ſhewed moſt courage was *Nicholas Soderini*, who taking Arms, was followed by all the common people of his quarter; and going to *Meſſer Luke*'s houſe encouraged him to mount on horſe-back, and go into the *Piazza* in favour of the Lords, who were on their ſide, and where doubtleſs the victory would be certain, and not ſtay in his houſe, either to be baſely oppreſſed by his armed enemies, or diſgracefully deceived by the unarmed, otherwiſe he would come to repent it when it was too late; for now, if he deſired War with the ruine of *Peter*, he might eaſily have it; or if he would have peace, it was much

better to be in a condition to give than receive terms. Theſe words nothing moved *Luke Pitti*, whoſe reſolution was taken, and his mind quite turned by the fair promiſes, new alliances, and new conditions made him by *Peter*; for he had already married his Niece to *John Tornabuoni*; inſomuch, that he exhorted *Nicholas*, likewiſe to lay down his Arms, and return to his houſe for all he aimed at, was that the City ſhould be governed by Magiſtrates, and ſo it would be, and every man would lay down their Arms; and the Senate, in which they had the greater party, would be Judge of their differences. *Nicholas* therefore, ſeeing he could not otherwiſe perſwade him, returned to his houſe, having firſt told him, *I cannot alone eſtabliſh the welfare of my City, but I can prognoſticate the miſchiefs muſt of neceſſity befall it. This courſe which you take will be the cauſe of loſs of Liberty to our Country, of honour to your ſelf, of wealth and eſtate, and of their Country it ſelf to others.* The Senate in this Tumult had ſhut the Palace gates, and withall the Magiſtrates kept themſelves within, not ſeeming to favour either party. The Citizens (and eſpecially thoſe who had ſided with *Luke*) ſeeing *Peter* in Arms, and the adverſaries diſarmed, began to bethink themſelves not to offend or oppoſe *Peter*, but how beſt to become his friends: Whereupon the prime Leaders of the Factions went into the Palace, and in the preſence of the Senate, debated many things about the

Luke Pitti ſides with Peter.

the preſent State of the City, and the means of reconciling all differences; and ſince *Peter*, becauſe of his weakneſs, could not come to them, they all with one accord determined to go to his Houſe, excepting only *Nicholas Sodenini*, who having firſt recommended his children and affairs to his brother *Thomas*, retired to his Country-Houſe, there to attend the event of theſe things, accounting himſelf unfortnnate, and his Country miſerable. The other Citizens being come before *Peter*, one appointed to ſpeak for the reſt, "complained of the Tumults raiſed "in the City, declaring them to be in the "fault, who had firſt taken up arms, and "not knowing what *Peter* (who was the "firſt that had done it) deſired, they were "come to know his pleaſure, and if it ap- "peared to be for the good of the City, "they were ready to ſecond him: To which *Peter* replyed: "That not he who firſt took "up Arms was the cauſe of theſe Commo- "tions, but thoſe who adminiſtred the oc- "caſion of their taking up: and if they "would well conſider in what manner they "had proceeded againſt him, they would "find no cauſe of wonder, that for his own "ſafety he had acted as he had done; for "then they would perceive, that their "nocturnal conventions, their ſubſcriptions, "their conſpiracies to take from him the "City and his life, made him arm. But "ſince with theſe arms he had not moved "from his houſe, it was evidence enough

The complaint of the Citizens to Peter Medici.

Peter's Anſwer.

"that his whole deſign was to defend him-
"ſelf, and not offend others. Nor had he
"any other aim, or deſired any thing elſe
"but his own ſecurity and quiet; nor had
"ever given the leaſt occaſion to make
"them believe he ſought for more: for
"ſince the authority of the *Balia* was ex-
"pired, he had not contrived by any ex-
"traordinary way to revive it, and was
"very well ſatisfied the Magiſtrates ſhould
"govern the City, whilſt they were con-
"tent with it; for they ought to remem-
"ber that *Coſmo* and his Children know
"how to live honourably in *Florence*, both
"with and without the *Balia*, and that in
"the year 1458, 'twasnot by his houſe, but
"by themſelves renewed. And if now they
"had no deſire to have it again eſtabliſhed,
"neither had he: but this compliance with
"them, was not enough, for he perceived
"they believed they could not live in *Flo-*
"*rence*, whilſt he was in it. A thing he
"never could have ſo much as thought or
"believed, that his Fathers friends and his
"ſhould fear to live in *Florence* with him,
"having never given the leaſt cauſe to be
"thought other than a quiet and peaceable
"man. Then addreſſing his Speech to
Meſſer Diotiſalvi, and his brethren there pre-
ſent, he reproached them in words grave,
but full of anger, with the kindneſſes they
had received from his Father, the truſt he
repoſed in them, and their barbarous ingra-
titude. And his words had ſuch force and

effect,

effect that had not *Peter* prevented ſome of the ſtanders by, they had been knock'd down: In concluſion *Peter* aſſured them he was ready to approve what ever they or the Senate ſhould determine, and for his part deſired nothing more, but to live quiet and ſecure. After this many things were debated, but nothing concluded, unleſs in general terms, that it was neceſſary the City ſhould be reformed, and new orders made in the State. *Bernardo Lotti* ſate at this time *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice, a man not truſty to *Peter*, therefore he thought it not convenient to attempt any thing in his time; which delay he thought of little importance to his affairs, his Magiſtracy being almoſt expired: but at the election of the Lords, who were to ſit for *September* and *October* in the year 1464, *Robert Lioni* was elected chief Magiſtrate, who aſſoon as he entred upon his office (all things elſe being prepared) ſummoned the people into the *Piazza*, and created a new *Balia* all of *Peter's* party, who ſoon after elected Magiſtrates according to the humour of the new Government, which ſo terrified the heads of the adverſe faction, that *Meſſer Agnolo Acciavoli* fled to *Naples*, and *Meſſer Diotiſalvi Neroni* and *Nicholas Soderini* to *Venice*, *Meſſer Luke Pitti* ſtaid in *Florence*, confiding in the promiſes made him by *Peter* and his new alliance. Thoſe which fled were declared Rebels, and all the Family of the *Neroni* diſperſed, and *Meſſer John Neroni*,

A new *Balia* created of the *Medici* Faction 1464.

roni, then Archbiſhop of *Florence*, to avoid a worſe miſchief choſe a voluntary exile at *Rome*: many other Citizens who ſoon after went away, were confined to ſundry places: nor did this ſuffice, but a publick proceſſion was ordained, to return thanks to God for the preſervation of the State, and the reuniting of the City. In the ſolemnizing which, many Citizens were taken and tormented, and ſome of them afterwards put to death, and others baniſhed; but in all this change of affairs nothing was more remarkable or exemplary, than the fall of *Luke Pitti*, who in one and the ſame inſtant felt the difference between victory and loſs, honour and diſhonour. His houſe was now a perpetual ſolitude, which was wont to be thronged with the numerous concourſe of Clyents; his relations were afraid not only of accompanying him, but even of ſaluting him in the ſtreets; for ſome of them had been deprived of their Offices, ſome of their Eſtates, and all were threatened the like uſage: thoſe ſtately Fabricks he had begun, were deſerted by the workmen; the Flatteries he was uſed to hear, were turned into revilings, and his honour into reproach, and many who to obtain his grace and favour had made him preſents of value, now redemanded them as things lent, and thoſe who uſed to exalt him to the skies, publickly ſcandalized him as a violent and ingrateful man: ſo that he now too late indeed he repented his not giving cre-

The fall of Luke Pitti.

ſreat to *Nicholas Soderini*, wiſhing he had dyed an honourable Death. Thoſe who were baniſhed, ſtudyed ſeveral ways how they might be reſtored to that City they had loſt: but *Meſſer Agnolo Acciavolo*, before he would attempt any innovation, thought beſt to make trial how he ſtood with *Peter*, and whether there was any hopes of reconciliation, and to that end wrote him the following Letter. *I cannot but laugh at the ſports of Fortune, and how ſhe takes delight to make enemies friends, and friends enemies: you may remember in your fathers baniſhment (more concerned for his injury, than my own danger) I loſt my Country, and had like to have loſt my life; nor was I ever wanting while* Coſmo *lived to honour and favour your houſe, nor ſince his death had ever any deſign to offend you; 'tis true, your ſickly conſtitution, and the tender years of your children, created thoſe fears in me, made me conceive the Government ought to be put in ſuch a method, that after your death our Country might not be ruined: upon which conſideration, what I acted was done, not againſt you, but for the good of my Countrey; which, if it be a fault, deſerves both for my good intention-ſake, and my former good deeds to be cancelled: nor can I believe (ſince your Family has for ſo long a time found me ſo faithful) but I may from you find compaſſion, and that all my deſerts will not for one fault alone be now blotted out.* *Peter* having received this Letter, thus returned his Anſwer; *Your laughing*

The Letter of *Agnolo Acciavoli* to *Peter Medici*.

Peter Medici his Anſwer.

there, occaſions my not weeping here; for if you return to Florence, *I muſt go weep at* Naples: *I confeſs you bore ſome good will to my father, but you may as well confeſs you have been recompenſed for it, ſo that your obligation is ſo much greater than ours, as deeds are more eſteemable than words: ſince then for your good deeds you have been rewarded, why ſhould you wonder if for your evil you be juſtly puniſhed? Nor is the love of your Countrey to be allowed as an excuſe, for no man living will believe this City to have been leſs beloved, or cheriſhed by the* Medici, *than the* Acciavoli: *live therefore there in diſgrace, ſince you knew not how to live here with Honour.* Whereupon *Meſſer Agnolo* deſpairing of ever procuring his pardon, comes to *Rome*, and confederates himſelf with the Archbiſhop and other Exiles, endeavouring by all bitter ways they could imagine, to blaſt the credit of the Factory of the *Medici* reſiding in *Rome*; which *Peter* could hardly prevent, yet by the aſſiſtance of his friends, their devices were defeated: on the other ſide *Meſſer Diotiſalvi* and *Nicholas Soderini* ſought with all induſtry imaginable to incenſe the *Venetians* againſt their Countrey, ſuppoſing that if *Florence* were aſſaulted from abroad, the Government being new, and generally hated, they would not be able to ſupport it. There lived in theſe times in *Ferrara John Franciſco*, the ſon of *Meſſer Palla Strozzi*, who in the change of Government in 1438 was with his father driven

Diotiſalvi and *Nicholas Soderini* ſtir up the *Venetians* againſt *Florence.*

out of *Florence*. Theſe new Rebels declared to *John Franciſco* how eaſily they might be reſtored to their Countrey, if the *Venetians* would undertake a war, which they believed they would be ready to do, if they could contrive any way how to contribute to part of the expence, or otherwiſe they doubted it. *John Franciſco*, who was deſirous to be revenged of the injuries he had received, gave eaſie ear to their counſels, and promiſed to be aſſiſtant in the attempt with his whole eſtate; "Whereupon they went all to the Duke, "lamenting their exile, and proteſting they "were driven out for no other crime, but "endeavouring that their Countrey ſhould "live according to its Laws, and that the "Magiſtrates, and not a few Citizens only, "ſhould be honoured and reſpected; where-"upon *Peter de Medici* and his Followers, "accuſtomed to live tyrannically, had de-"ceitfully taken Arms, deceitfully made "them lay down theirs, and afterwards as "deceitfully driven them from their Coun-"trey; and not content therewith, but "they had made Devotion to God a pre-"tence and colour to oppreſs others, who "under their faith given them ſtill remain-"ed in the City; for in the midſt of thoſe "publick and ſacred Ceremonies, and ſo-"lemn ſupplications (that they might "make God a partaker in their treaſons) "they had impriſoned and put to death "many Citizens, an example of great im-

piety

" piety and horror; to revenge this, they " knew not where better to have recourſe, " than to that Senate which enjoying its " Liberty, ought to have compaſſion of " thoſe which had loſt theirs. They there- " fore begg'd the aſſiſtance of Free-men a- " gainſt Tyrants, of good men againſt the " wicked, remembring them how the Fa- " mily of the *Medici* had been the cauſe of " of their loſing the Dominion of *Lombar-* " *dy*, who in contradiction of the other " Citizens had favoured and ſupported Earl " *Francis* againſt their Senate; ſo that if the " juſtice of their cauſe could not move " them, they ought to be ſtirred up by a " juſt hatred and deſire of revenge for their " own injuries. Theſe laſt words moved the whole Senate, and they determined that *Bartholomew Coglione* their General ſhould invade the *Florentine* Territories, who with all ſpeed drew together the Army, and with him joined *Hercules d'Eſte* ſent from *Borſo* Duke of *Ferrara*. They at their firſt entrance (the *Florentines* not being yet in order) burnt the Burrough of *Decadala*, and made ſome ſpoil in the adjacent Country: but the *Florentines* (after they had driven out the enemies of the *Medici*) had entred into a new League with King *Ferdinand*, and *Galeazo* Duke of *Milan*, and entertained for their General *Frederick* Earl of *Urbin*; ſo that having ſuch good Friends, they valued their enemies the leſs: for *Ferdinand* ſent his eldeſt ſon *Alphonſo*, and *Ga-*

leaz-

The *Venetians* and Duke of *Ferrara* war with *Florence*.

leazo came in perſon, each with conveneint Forces, and all rendezvouzed at *Caſtracazo* a Caſtle of the *Florentines*, ſeated at the foot of the *Alps*, between *Tuſcany* and *Romagnia*: mean while the enemies were retreated towards *Imola*, ſo according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, ſome light skirmiſhes happened, but no general aſſault was made, no towns beſieged, nor ſhewed they any diſpoſition of engaging each other; but lying, lazing in their Tents, with abominable cowardize managed the war. This tediouſneſs much diſpleaſed the *Florentines*, who beheld themſelves oppreſſed with a war in which they ſpent much, and could hope to gain but little; and the Magiſtrates blamed thoſe they had appointed Commiſſioners of the War, who gave them an account that Duke *Caleazo* was in the fault, for he having the greateſt Authority, and but ſlender Experience, knew not how to take advantages, nor would be ruled by thoſe that did, and that it was impoſſible, ſo long as he ſtaid in the Army, that any thing ſhould be undertaken to their Honour or profit. Whereupon the *Florentines* repreſented to the Duke. "That it "did much redound to their credit and re- "putation, that he was perſonally come "to aſſiſt them, for his preſence only was "enough to terrifie their enemies, yet they "valued the ſafety of his perſon and Do- "minion above their own advantage; for "whileſt he was in ſafety, they hoped for

"all

" all prosperous success, but if he should " fail, they had reason to fear the worst of " adversities. They were therefore of o- " pinion it was not very secure for him to " be long absent from *Milan*, being new- " ly entred into the Government, and hav- " ing many powerful enemies he ought to " be jealous of, who whilest he was away " might contrive many mischiefs against " him: wherefore they advised him to re- " turn to his Countrey, leaving some part " of his Forces for their defence. The counsel pleased *Galeazo* well, and without farther consideration he returned to *Milan*. This impediment thus removed, the *Florentine* Captains to shew he was indeed the true occasion of the former neglect, made their approaches to the enemy, so that they came to a set Battle, which continued half the day, neither party giving ground to the other, yet there was not one slain, only some few horses wounded, and some prisoners taken on both sides: the winter now approached, and the season wherein Armies use to draw into quarters; wherefore *Messer Bartholomew* retreats towards *Ravenna*, and the *Florentine* Forces into *Tuscany*, and those of the King and Duke home to their own Countries. But since by this assault there had happened no commotion in *Florence*, as the *Florentine* Rebels had promised there would, the Soldiers beginning to want their pay, a peace was treated, and after very few debates concluded; whereupon the

A famous Battle.

Peace concluded.

Florentine

Florentine Rebels, loſt to all hope, departed ſeveral ways, *Meſſer Diotiſalvi* went to *Ferrara*, where he was by Duke *Borſo* received, and kindly entertained; *Nicholas Soderini* retired to *Ravenna*, where with a ſmall penſion allowed him by the *Venetians*, he grew old and dyed: he was accounted an honeſt and valiant man, but in reſolving upon any thing doubtful and ſlow, which made him when he was *Gonfaloniere* loſe the opportunity of overcoming, and afterwards when he was a private man ſtrive to regain it, and could not. Peace concluded, thoſe Citizens that remained ſuperiour in *Florence*, could not perſwade themſelves to have overcome, if they did not with all manner of injuries afflict not only their enemies, but thoſe they ſuſpected averſe to their party; wherefore they perſwaded *Bardo Altoviti* then *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice, to remove many Citizens from their offices, and to baniſh others, which increaſed their power, and terrified their adverſaries, and the power they had got they exerciſed without any moderation, as if God and fortune had given them the City for a prey; of which Peter knew but little, and that little he did could not remedy, by reaſon of the infirmity of his body: for the Gout ſo tormented him, that he could uſe no member but his tongue, nor apply any other remedy to their diſorders but good admoniſhments, intreating them to live more civilly, and rather poſſeſs their Countrey with

with ſafety, than be driven out with its deſtruction: and to divert the City principally, he determined on that magnificent ſolemnization of the marriage between his ſon *Lorenzo*, and *Clarice* of the Family of the *Orſini*; which wedding was performed with all that pomp and ſplendor became the magnificence of ſo great a man, and many days were ſpent in feaſting, Balls and Maſques; and to compleat the greatneſs of the Family, two military Shows were exhibited to the people, one the repreſentation of a Battle on Horſe-back, and the other the ſtorming of a Town, in both which all things were marſhelled in excellent order, and performed with admirable Dexterity. Whileſt theſe things were doing in *Florence*, the reſt of *Italy* lived likewiſe in quiet, but in great jealouſies of the *Turks* greatneſs, who purſued his victories againſt the Chriſtians, and had now taken *Negroponte*, to the infamy and diſhonour of the Chriſtian name. In theſe times dyed *Borſo Marquis* of *Ferrara*, to whom ſucceeded *Hercules* his ſon; likewiſe dyed *Giſmondo* of *Rimini* profeſt enemy to the Church, and *Robert* his ſon remained Heir to his Eſtates, who afterwards gained the reputation of being one of the prime Captains of *Italy*. There alſo dyed *Pope Paul*, and to him ſucceeded *Sixtus* the Fourth, called before his creation *Francis* of *Savona*, a man of baſe and moſt vile condition; yet for his appearances of Vertue, made firſt General of the

Marriage of *Lozenzo Medici* with *Clarice Orſini*.

Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth

Order

Order of S. *Francis*, and afterwards *Cardinal*. This Pope was the firſt that began openly to ſhow what a Pope could do, and how many things before called errors might be covered under the Pontifical Authority. There were of his Family *Peter* and *Girolamo*, who as every one believed were his ſons, yet he palliated that ſcandal under the more civil name of Nephews: *Peter* becauſe he was a Friar, he raiſed to the Dignity of *Cardinal*, with the title of S. *Sixto*; to *Girolamo* he gave the City of *Furli*, taking it from *Antonio Ordelaffi*, whoſe Anceſtors had a long time been Princes of that City: yet this ſtrange and ambitious way of proceeding, made the Princes of *Italy* pay him the more eſteem, and every one ſought his alliance; ſo that the Duke of *Milan* gave *Catherine* his natural daughter to *Girolamo* for wife, and with her the City of *Imola* (which he had taken from *Taddeo Alidoſſi*) in Dower; between this Duke likewiſe and King *Ferdinand*, an alliance to us likewiſe contracted for *Elizabella* daughter to *Alphonſo* the Kings eldeſt ſon, was married to *John Galeazo* eldeſt ſon to the Duke. *Italy* lived now in a profound quiet, and the only care of theſe Princes was to have a watch one upon another; and by new Alliances, Leagues and Friendſhips to ſecure themſelves; yet in ſo great a calm of peace *Florence* was ſtill in a ſtorm, toſſed and tormented by its own Citizens, and *Peter* violently afflicted with his diſtemper, could not ſtand at Helm, nor make any

proviſion

proviſion againſt the violent guſts of their ambition; yet to disburthen his own Conſcience; and make them if he could aſhamed of their courſes, he called before him the chief *Florentines*, and thus reproved and adviſed them: *I once never believed I ſhould have ſeen the time that the manners and behaviour of my Friends ſhould make me rather love and deſire the proſperity of my enemies, and that my victory had proved a defeat; for I thought I had confederated with men, whoſe Appetite might have been bounded, and who would have been content, if not with living quiet and ſecure themſelves, yet at leaſt with being revenged on their enemies: but now I ſee how ſtrangely I am deceived, and how ignorant I was of the natural Ambition of men in general, and much more of yours; for you are not content to be Princes in ſo mighty a City, to ſhare among a few of you thoſe Honours, Dignities and Profits were wont to be in common to the whole body, and to have the eſtates of your enemies divided amongſt you; nor are you ſatisfied to load others with all publick charges, whileſt your ſelves, freed from all payments, enjoy the profit, but to your advantages you muſt adde the Tyranny of afflicting them with all manner of injuries: you rob your neighbours of their Goods, you ſell Juſtice, and flie from civil Judgment, oppreſſing the innocent, and promoting the inſolent; nor do I believe there is in all* Italy *ſo many examples of violence and injuſtice, as in this City: why ſhould we take life from our Country,*

Peter de Medici his ſpeech to the *Florentins.*

Countrey that has given a being to us? or why deſtroy thoſe that have made us victorious? why diſgrace and ſcorn thoſe have given us Honours? I promiſe you by the faith which all honeſt men ought to give and receive, if you continue to behave your ſelves ſo, that I be forced to repent that I was victorious, I ſhall carry my ſelf in that manner you ſhall likewiſe repent of your abuſe of the Victory. Thoſe Citizens returned an Anſwer ſuitable and agreeable to the occaſion, but reclaimed not themſelves from their violence and oppreſſion: whereupon *Peter* privately cauſed *Meſſer Agnolo Acciavoli* to come to *Caſſagivolo*, and had a long diſcourſe with him about the State of the City, nor is it to be doubted but (had not death prevented him) he had recalled all the baniſhed to curb the inſolence of thoſe that were within, but death put a ſtop to theſe his honeſt intentions, for grievouſly afflicted with diſeaſes of body, and torments of mind, he dyed in the three and fiftieth year of his age, whoſe worth and virtue could never be truly known to his Countrey, becauſe moſt of his time he lived accompanied by his father; and thoſe few years he outlived him, were conſumed in civil diſcords, and infirmity of body. *Peter* was buried near his father in the Church of S. *Laurence*, and his Funeral was ſolemnized with all the pomp becoming ſo great a Citizen. He left behind him two ſons *Lorenzo* and *Guilian*, who though they gave great hopes

Death of *Peter de Medici*

they would prove beneficial & ſerviceable to their Countrey, yet their youth made all men doubtful. Among other principal men of State in *Florence*, and who much excelled all the reſt was *Thomas Soderini*, whoſe wiſdom & Authority was not only reverenced in *Florence*, but by all the Princes of *Italy*, on him after *Peters* death did the whole City caſt their eyes, & many Citizens viſited & many Princes complimented him as the chief man of the State, but he being prudent, & having a fore-ſight of his own fortune, and that of the Family of the *Medici*, anſwered none of the Princes Letters, & told the Citizens that not to his, but to the houſe of the *Medici* they ought to pay their viſits: And to perfect by deeds what he had perſwaded in words, he aſſembled all the prime Noble Families in the convent of S. *Antonio*, whither he likewiſe cauſed *Lorenzo* and *Julian Medici* to come, & after a long and grave Oration of the preſent State of that City, of all *Italy*, and of the humours of Princes, concluding, that if they deſired the union and peace of *Florence*, and to ſecure it from civil diſſention & foreign war, it was of all things moſt neceſſary they ſhould honour theſe two young men, and maintain the reputation of their houſe, for men ſeldom repine to ſubmit to things they are accuſtomed too, but new Lords as they are eaſily ſet up, are eaſily thrown down, and it was ever more facile to maintain that power, which by long continuance had outworn envy, than erect a new, which all men

Thomas Soderini the moſt principal Citizen.

men will be watching opportunities to oppreſs. After *Meſſer Thomaſo*, ſpoke *Lorenzo*, and notwithſtanding his youth, pleaded with ſo much Gravity, Prudence and Modeſty, that he put all men in hopes he would prove, what he afterwards did; and before they departed that place, thoſe Citizens ſwore to cheriſh them as their children, and they to own them as their fathers; upon which concluſion *Lorenzo* and *Giulian* were honoured as Princes of the City, and they again never declined *Soderini*'s counſel. And thus living at reſt, both at home and abroad, and no appearance of war to diſturb the publick quiet, an unlooked for tumult happened as a preſage of future troubles. Among the Families ruined by the faction of *Luke Pitti*, was that of the *Nardi*; for *Sylveſter* and his brother, heads of that Family were firſt baniſhed, and afterwards in that war, moved by *Bartholomew Coglione* declared Rebels, among whom was *Bernard* brother of *Sylveſter*, a ſtout and active young man: he by reaſon of his poverty, leſs able to ſupport baniſhment; and by reaſon of the concluſion of the peace, ſeeing no hopes of return, determined to attempt ſomething, which might occaſion the renewing of the war; for oftentimes of weak beginnings, great effects enſue, provided men are more diligent in the proſecution, than the beginning of an enterpriſe. *Bernard* had great acquaintance in *Prato*, and more in the

Conſpiracy of the *Nardi*.

Countrey of *Piſtoia*, eſpecially with the houſe of the *Palandri*, a Family though bred in the Countrey, yet very numerous, and thoſe like the other *Piſtoieſi*, nurſt in Arms & Blood; he very well knew they were diſcontented, having been in ſome differences of theirs a little ſeverely treated by the *Florentine* Magiſtrates, and beſides he was well vers'd in the humour of the *Prateſi*, who believed themſelves governed with too much avarice and pride, and had particular knowledge of ſome mens averſion to the State: all which things gave him hopes he might kindle a fire in *Tuſcany*, by ſtirring up *Prato* to Rebellion, to which ſo much fuel would ſoon be added, that it would be found a hard matter to quench it. Theſe his thoughts he communicates to *Meſſer Dioti ſalvi*, asking him, that ſuppoſing his deſign on *Prato* ſucceeded, what aſſiſtance he might by his means expect from other Princes? the undertaking to Mr. *Dioti ſalvi* ſeemed very dangerous, and almoſt impoſſible to effect; yet ſeeing he might now at the hazard of others, make a new tryal of his fortune, he encouraged him to proceed, promiſing him certain aſſiſtance from *Ferrara* and *Bolonia*, if he ſo far ſucceeded as to defend *Prato* but fifteen days. *Bernardo* by theſe promiſes heightned with hopes of happy ſucceſs, privately conveys himſelf to *Prato*, and communicates the matter to ſeveral whom he finds readily diſpoſed to it; of the like temper he finds the Family of the *Palandri*, and having agreed upon the time and manner

manner of execution, they ſent advice of all to *Meſſer Diotiſalvi*. *Cæſar Petrucci* was at this time *Podeſta* of *Prato* for the *Florentines*. Thoſe Governours of the town have an uſual cuſtom to keep themſelves the keys of the Gates, and when any of the City (eſpecially in unſuſpected times) comes by night to deſire to go out, or to have any let in, he ſends the Keys. *Bernardo* who knew this cuſtom comes a little before day, together with the *Palandri*, and about a hundred armed men, and preſents himſelf before the Gate that leads to *Piſtoia*, and thoſe within who knew of the conſpiracy, were likewiſe ready armed, one of whom went to the *Podeſta* to deſire the Keys, feigning there was a Townſman deſired entrance; the *Podeſta* who could not have the leaſt ſuſpicion of any ſuch accident, ſends one of his ſervants with them, from whom before he was far from the Palace, the Keys were taken by the conſpirators, the Gates opened, and *Peter* and his armed followers let in, and being all now together, they again divided into two bodies, one of which led by *Sylveſter* a *Prateſe* ſurpriſed the Cittadel, and *Bernardo* with the other ſeized the Palace, committing *Cæſar* with all his Family to the cuſtody of ſome of his followers, then they ſet up their cry throughout all the Town, proclaiming *Liberty*, *Liberty*. Day now began to appear, and at the noiſe, many of the people ran into the Market place: and hearing how the Cittadel and Palace was

ſurpriſed, and the *Podeſta* with his Family impriſoned, they ſtood amazed how this accident ſhould happen. The eight Citizens, to whom the adminiſtration of affairs is there committed, aſſembled in their Palace to conſult what was beſt to be done: Whilſt *Bernardo* and his company having marched up and down the Town, and getting none to follow them, hearing the eight were aſſembled came to them, and told them the reaſon of his enterpriſe was to free them and their Country from ſervitude, and how much glory they would gain, if taking arms they accompanied him in ſo brave an attempt, by which they would gain perpetual quiet and eternal fame, putting them in mind of their ancient liberty and preſent condition, declaring what ſure aſſiſtance they would have, if but for a few days they held out, affirming he had a party in *Florence*, who would ſhew themſelves as ſoon as they had intelligence that Town would unanimouſly follow him. The eight not moved at his words, replyed, "That "they knew not whether *Florence* lived "in Liberty or Bondage, as a thing they "were not concerned to enquire into, "but this they knew, they would ne-"ver deſire any other Liberty than to obey "thoſe Magiſtrates that governed *Florence*, "from whom they had received no injury to "oblige them to take arms againſt them; "wherefore they adviſed him to releaſe the "*Podeſta*, and march as faſt as he could

"with

"with his people out of the Town, thereby "with ſpeed freeing himſelf from that dan- "ger, whereinto he had unadviſedly thrown "himſelf. *Bernardo* not at all daunted, with theſe words reſolved to try if threats would move the *Prateſi*, whom he could not move with intreaties, and to terrifie them he thought the beſt way to put the *Podeſta* to death; whom taking out of priſon, he commanded to be hanged at the Palace Windows. *Cæſar* was brought almoſt to the window with the halter about his neck, when he ſaw *Bernardo*, who commanded his death, to whom turning about he ſaid, Bernardo *thou putteſt me to death, believing then to be followed by the* Prateſi, *but thou'lt find the quite contrary, for the Reverence theſe people bear to the governours, ſent them from the* Florentines *is ſo great, that when they ſee this injury done to me, they will conceive ſuch a hatred againſt thee, as will procure thy ruine, for not my death, but my life may be the occaſion of victory to thee, for if I command them to fulfill your pleaſure, poſſibly they may do it, and by my following your directions, you may perhaps accompliſh your deſign.* Bernardo, who had not now much choice to make thought this counſel very reaſonable, and therefore orders him to go to the Window, and command the people to yield him obedience; which when *Cæſar* had done, he was ſent back into cuſtody. The weakneſs of the Conſpirators was by this time diſcovered, and many *Florentines* who

inhabited the Town, had gathered themſelves together, among whom was *Meſſer George Ginori*, a Knight of *Rhodes*, he was the firſt made any oppoſition, and aſſaulted *Bernardo*, who was running up and down the Market-place, ſometimes intreating, and ſometimes threatning, if they did not obey and follow him: but *Meſſer George* and his party charging him, he was wounded and taken; which done, it was an eaſie matter to releaſe the *Podeſta*, and overcome the reſt; who being but few, were moſt of them taken or ſlain. Mean while the news of this accident was brought to *Florence*, and made ſo much more than the truth, that the firſt Relations told, that *Prato* was taken, the *Podeſta* with his Family all ſlain, and the Town full of enemies; *Piſtoia* in arms, and many of its Citizens in this Conſpiracie, whereupon the Palace was immediately full of Citizens, who came to conſult with the Senate. There happened to be in *Florence Robert of San Severmo*, accounted a very able Leader, him they determined to ſend with as many forces as could on ſuch a ſudden be got together to march towards the Town, and give them a particular account of the matter, applying ſuch remedies, as in his judgement ſhould ſeem meet. *Robert* had gone little farther than the Caſtle of *Campi*, but he was met by a Meſſenger ſent from *Cæſar* to ſignifie that *Bernardo* was taken, his conſorts ſlain or fled, and the Tumult quieted; whereupon he returned

returned to *Florence*, whither ſoon after *Bernardo* was brought, whom the Magiſtrates ſtrictly examining to know the full Truth of the deſign, and finding it a very weak Plot, asked him why he would attempt ſo unlikely a thing, to which he made anſwer, he did it, becauſe he had rather dye in *Florence* than live in exile, and was deſirous his death might be accompanied with ſomething memorable. This Tumult dead as ſoon as it was born, the Citizens returned to their accuſtomed manner of living, thinking they might without any moderation or reſpect enjoy that Government they had themſelves ſetled and eſtabliſhed: whence aroſe here thoſe diſorders, which like inſects are uſually generated from peace and idleneſs, for the youth grew more extravagant, than they were wont in their apparel, feaſting, and other laſcivious vanities, ſetting no bounds to their expences, but being waſteful and idle, conſumed their time and eſtates in play and women, and all their ſtudy was who dreſt fineſt, who had the richeſt garnitures, and who had moſt of the words in faſhion, or could talk after the prettieſt and neweſt method; but that man that gave the ſharpeſt, and moſt biting reparties, he was the wit of the times. Theſe bleſſed Cuſtoms, and weighty endowments were by the Courtiers of *Milan* much added to and refined, for that Duke with his Dutcheſs and whole Court to perform a vow (as it was given out) were come to *Florence* The Duke of *Milan* in *Florence*.

Florence; where he was received with all that pomp and ſplendor, requiſite for the entertainment of ſo great a Prince, and ſo true a friend to the City: And now there was one thing to be ſeen, which our City had never beheld before; for it being the holy time of *Lent*, during which the Church commands abſtinence from fleſh, his Court without any reſpect either to God or the Church, would feed on nothing elſe. There were many publick ſpectacles exhibited for his Honour, among the reſt in the Church of *Sancto Spirito*, they repreſented the Holy Ghoſt deſcending upon the Apoſtles; and many fires being uſed in ſuch ſolemnities, that Church by ſome or other took fire, and was quite burnt down, which moſt lookt upon, as an evident ſign of Gods anger againſt us, for our Sins and Follies. In ſhort, if the Duke of *Milan* found the City of *Florence* full of Curtizans, Delicacies, Debaucheries and Cuſtoms quite oppoſite to well ordered Civility, he left it much more ſo, whereupon good Citizens though it requiſite to bridle theſe Vanities, and by a Law reſtrain the exceſſive expences in apparel, feaſting and burial. In the midſt of this profound peace happened a new and unlookt for Tumult in *Tuſcany*. There was found in the Country of *Volterra* by ſome of the Citizens of that place a Mine of Allum, who knowing what advantages were to be made of it, that they might be aſſiſted with money, and defend-

Tumults in *Volterra*.

ed with authority, they addreſſed themſelves to ſome Citizens of *Florence* to be partners with them. This in the beginning (as generally all new undertakings are) was by the people of *Volterra* ſlighted, but at length when they ſaw what profit others made of them, they ſtrove too late and in vain to ſnatch out of their hands, what at firſt they might with eaſe have had; they began firſt in their Councils to argue the matter, affirming it was not convenient, that a commodity found in publick grounds ſhould be converted to private uſe. They ſent thereupon their Ambaſſadors to *Florence*, and the matter was referred to a Committee of Citizens, who either bribed, or becauſe 'twas indeed their judgement, reported, That the people of *Volterra* were unjuſt in deſiring to deprive other Citizens of the fruits of their pains and induſtry; and that thoſe Allums belonged to the private perſons, and not to them, however it was convenient they ſhould yearly pay a ſum of money to the City, as an acknowledgement of their Superiority: This ſentence inſtead of extinguiſhing, inflamed the diſcontents and tumults in *Volterra*, and nothing elſe, not only in their Councils, but through the whole City was diſcourſed of; the People requiring what was unjuſtly taken from them might be reſtored, and the private poſſeſſors ſtriving to keep, what they had been at charge and pains to ſet on work, and by ſentence of the *Florentines* was confirm-

ed

ed to them. Inſomuch, that in theſe diſputes *Pecorino*, a Citizen of quality was killed, and after him many others of his party, and their houſes ſackt and burnt, and with much ado were the people in this fury reſtrained from killing the *Florentine* Governours: But this firſt Tumult paſt, they determined ere they proceeded farther to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Florence*, who informed the Senate, if they would maintain their ancient Rights and Charters, they would continue in their ancient obedience. The anſwer was long debated. *Meſſer Thomas Soderini* was of opinion, it was convenient to accept of the *Volterrans* ſubmiſſion on what terms ſoever, it being dangerous to raiſe a flame ſo near, that it may burn our own houſes, for he was fearful how the Pope was inclined, knew the King to be potent, and was confident neither in the Venetians nor Dukes friendſhip, becauſe he could not tell how much fidelity might be found in the one, nor how little courage in the other, remembring them of that known proverb, *Better a lean peace than a fat victory.* On the other ſide *Lorenzo de Medici* thinking now, he had an opportunity to give a value to his counſels and prudence, and eſpecially ſet on by thoſe who envyed *Soderini*'s authority, adviſed the chaſtiſing the inſolency of the *Volterrans* by arms, affirming, if they were not made a memorable example, other Cities would never ſtick

ſtick at doing the like upon the leaſt and ſlighteſt occaſion. This reſolution taken, the *Volterrans* were anſwered, That they could not require the obſervance of thoſe conditions themſelves had broken, and that therefore they muſt ſubmit themſelves to the judgement of the Senate, or expect a War. The *Volterrans* returned with this anſwer, prepared for their defence, fortifying their Town, and ſending to all the Princes of *Italy* for aid, but were hearkened to by few, only the *Saneſi*, and the Lord of *Prombino* promiſed them ſome aſſiſtance. The *Florentines* on the other ſide thinking haſte in attaining it, of almoſt as much importance as victory it ſelf, drew together ten thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, whom under the command of *Frederick*, Lord of *Urbin*, they ſent into the Country of *Volterra*, and eaſily becoming Maſter of that, he lays ſiege to the City, which being ſeated upon an aſcent, could no way be battered but on that ſide where the Church of St. *Alexander* ſtands. The *Volterrans* had hired about a thouſand Soldiers for their defence, who ſeeing how bravely the *Florentines* aſſailed them, diſtruſtful of being able to defend the Town, grew ſlow in the ſervice, but in affronting the *Volterrans* ready enough; ſo that thoſe poor Citizens were forced to endure the aſſaults of their enemies without, and the abuſes of their friends within, till in the end deſpairing of any ſafety, they began to treat, and for

for want of better terms were forced to ſubmit to the diſcretion of the *Florentine* Commiſſaries; who cauſing the Gates to be opened, went to the Palace where their Priors were ſitting, whom they commanded to return to their houſes, and in the way one of them was by ſome of the Soldiers in deriſion ſtript, from this beginning (as men are ſtill readier to do miſchief than good) grew the deſtruction and ſack of this City, which for a whole day was robbed, ſpoiled and plundered, neither did the women nor ſacred places eſcape, but the Soldiers (as well thoſe had ſo cowardly defended it, as thoſe had fought againſt it) divided all their wealth and riches. The news of this victory was with great joy received at *Florence*, and becauſe the enterprize was wholly *Lorenzo*'s it gained him very great reputation; Whereupon one of his familiar friends reproaching *Thomas Soderini* for his counſels ſaid, *And what ſay you now that* Volterra *is taken?* to whom *Thomas* anſwered, *I rather think it is loſt, for had you taken it upon compoſition, you might have expected from it both advantage and ſecurity; but having taken it by force, in time of war it will weaken and annoy you, and in time of peace be both a charge and trouble.* In theſe times the Pope deſirous to keep in obedience the Towns belonging to the Church, had cauſed *Spoletto* to be ſackt, which by the procurement of factions within had rebelled, and afterwards becauſe the City of *Caſtello* was fallen into

Volterra ſackt.

The Pope ſacks Spoletto, and beſieges Caſtello.

into the ſame contumacy had beſieged it. *Nicholas Vitelli* was Prince of that Town, he had contracted a very intimate friendſhip with *Lorenzo de Medici*, who was not wanting now to give him aſſiſtance, though not enough to defend him, yet ſufficient, to ſow thoſe ſeeds of diſſention between Pope *Sixtus* and the *Medici* which afterwards brought forth very ill fruit. Nor had they been ſo long breaking forth, had not the death of *Peter* Cardinal of *Siſto* intervened, for this Cardinal travelling all about *Italy*, and particularly to *Milan* and *Venice* (under pretence to honour the Nuptials of *Hercules* Marquiſs of *Ferrara*) had been ſounding the minds of Princes to find how they ſtood inclined to the *Florentines*; but being returned to *Rome*, he dyed not without ſuſpition of having been poiſoned by the *Venetians*, for they feared the power of *Sixtus*, when it had the courage and counſel of *Peter* to back it; for though nature had produced him of mean and abject blood, and that afterwards he was educated within the walls of a Convent, yet as ſoon as he came to be Cardinal, he was filled with ſuch pride and ambition, a Cardinals cap was ſo much too little, that the triple Crown would ſcarce have ſatisfied him: for he made a feaſt in *Rome*, might have been judged a prodigality in a King, and which coſt him at leaſt twenty thouſand Florins, *Sixtus* deprived thus of this great Miniſter of State, his affairs went on much ſlower.

However

However the *Florentines*, Duke and *Venetians*, having renewed the League, and left place for the Pope and King to enter, if they pleaſed. They made another contract between themſelves with invitations to other Princes of *Italy* to joyn with them, if they thought fit; ſo that now *Italy* was divided into two factions, for every day ſomething happened, begetting hatred and animoſity between theſe two leagues, but particularly the affair of *Cyprus*, which Iſland the King laid clam to, but the *Venetians* poſſeſſed themſelves of, whereupon the Pope and King obliged each other to ſtricter terms of mutual aſſiſtance. *Frederick* Prince of *Urbin* was at this time accounted one of the prime Captains of *Italy*, who had long been employed by the *Florentines*: him, that the League might want ſo valiant a head, the King and Pope ſtrove to gain, and the King invited, and the Pope adviſed him to go to *Naples*, which to the great wonder and diſpleaſure of the *Florentines* he did, who believed he expoſed himſelf to the fate of *Jacob Piccinino*, though the contrary happened, for *Frederick* returned both from *Naples* and *Rome* with much honour, and ſtill continued General of the League: Mean while the King and Pope were not wanting to ſound the minds of the Lords of *Romagnia*, and the *Saneſi*, by means of whoſe friendſhip they might more ſecurely offend the *Florentines*, who perceiving their intent, by all convenient ways armed themſelves to encounter

counter their ambition, and having loſt *Frederick* of *Urbin*, entertained *Robert* of *Rimini*, renewed their League with the *Perugians*, and made a new one with the Lords of *Faenza*, the reaſon alleadged by the King and Pope for their hatred to the *Florentines*, was, becauſe they ſought to withdraw the *Venetians* from them, and joyn them to their own ſide; and the Pope thought that whilſt the *Venetians* and *Florentines* were united, it would be impoſſible for him to maintain the reputation of the Church, or Count *Girolamo*, his Eſtates in *Romania*. On the other ſide the *Florentines* feared that they would ſet them at enmity with the *Venetians*, not for their friendſhip ſake, but to be the better enabled to injure them. And in theſe doubts and jealouſies lived *Italy* two years before any War or Tumult broke forth. The firſt, though a little one happened in *Tuſcany*: *Braccio* a man (as we have before related) famous in war, left behind him two ſons, *Oddo* and *Charles*: This laſt very young, and the other ſlain by the inhabitants of the Vale of *Lamona*. *Charles* being come to mans Eſtate, and fit for action, was by the *Venetians* for the memory of his Father, and hopes of himſelf, entertained among other Leaders employed by the Republick; the time of his entertainment expired, he would not renew it, determining to try, if by his own valour, and the reputation of his Father, he could recover his Eſtates of

Charles the ſon of *Braccio* aſſails the *Saneſi*.

Perugia, to which the *Venetians* readily conſented, they being wont amidſt others troubles to increaſe their own dominions: *Charles* therefore comes into *Tuſcany*; and finding the affairs of *Perugia* ſomewhat too hard, becauſe the *Florentines* were in league with them, yet reſolving, ſince he had taken arms, to do ſomething memorable, aſſaults the *Saneſi*, alledging they were his debtors for ſervices done that State by his Father, which he required ſatisfaction for, and therewithall ſo briskly fell on, that he almoſt quite overthrew that Dominion. The Citizens of *Siena* ſeeing themſelves ſo furiouſly aſſaulted, being apt to believe any ill of the *Florentines*, perſwaded themſelves that by their conſent the attempt was made, heavily complaining thereof to the Pope and King, and ſending withall Ambaſſadors to *Florence*, to expoſtulate the matter, and privately inſinuating that *Charles* (without hopes of their aſſiſtance,) durſt not ſo bodily have injured them. The *Florentines* excuſed themſelves, affirming they were ready to ſhew their endeavours, to prevent *Charles* his doing them any wrong, and to that purpoſe would in ſuch terms, as the Ambaſſadors thought fit, command him to forbear offending the *Saneſi*, which *Charles* thought hard meaſure, demonſtrating that the *Florentines*, by not backing him, had loſt a conſiderable conqueſt, and rob'd him of a proportionable glory, for he could in a ſhort time have promiſed

mised them the possession of that Town, whose cowardize and disorder he had found such, it was impossible they could long hold out. But now being forced to leave off, he returned into the *Venetians* pay, and the *Sanesi* (though freed by the *Florentines* from so many damages) continued their grudge against them, not thinking they ought any obligation to a people, who had only delivered them from an injury they had first occasioned. Whilst affairs stood thus between the King, Pope and *Tuscany*, an accident of greater moment happened in *Lombardy*, as the presage of future evils: There was one *Cola* of *Mantoua* a learned but ambitious man, who taught the Latine tongue to the youth of principal quality in *Milan*. In these (whether out of hate to the bad manners of the Duke, or moved by some other occasion) by all the discourses he made, he strove to beget an abhorrence of living under an evil Prince, pronouncing them glorious and happy, to whom Fortune and Nature had granted the favour of living in a Common-wealth, declaring how all famous men had been brought up in Republicks, and not under Princes, for those cherish virtuous men, and these destroy them, the one reaping benefit and advantage from their virtue, and the other standing in fear of it: those youths he had entertained the strictest familiarity with, were *John Andrea Lampognano*, *Charles Visconti*, and *Girolamo Olgiato*, with these he often

Conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Milan.*

diſcourſed about the corrupt nature of the Prince, and the infelicity of thoſe lived under him; and ſuch a confidence had he in theſe young men, that at laſt he made them ſwear when age ſhould enable them, they would free their Countrey from the tyranny of that Prince, this deſire thus inſtilled into them, increaſed with their years, and the Dukes ill manners and cuſtoms, and particular injuries done to themſelves haſtened the Execution of it. *Galeazo* was luſtful and cruel, which two qualities had with their circumſtances made him utterly odious, for he was not content only to vitiate and debauch Ladies of quality, but took delight to publiſh it; nor would the death of men ſatisfie him, unleſs they were in ſome cruel manner tormented; he lived likewiſe under the infamy of having murdered his mother; for not thinking himſelf abſolute Prince while ſhe was preſent, he had ſo far wrought with her, that ſhe was content to retire to her jointure-ſeat at *Cremona*, in which journey ſhe fell ſuddenly ſick and dyed; which made many think her ſon the cauſe of her death. This Duke in ſome concerns with the Female Sex had diſhonoured *Charles* and *Girolamo*, and denyed *John Andrea* the poſſeſſion of the Abbey of *Miramondo*, which upon a relations reſignation had been granted him by the Pope. Theſe private injuries ſpurred on the young men to revenge and deliver their Countrey from ſo many miſchiefs, hoping

hoping that whenever they had the good fortune to kill the Duke, they ſhould not only be followed by the chief of the Nobles, but by the whole people, being therefore determined upon the matter, they met often together, which becauſe of their ancient familiarity, was nothing wondred at; and to keep their minds ſtaid and reſolved, they were always diſcourſing of the buſineſs, and practiſing with their dagger ſheaths to hit one another on the breſt, belly and in other mortal places: then they adviſed about the place and time; in the Caſtle they judged it could not be ſecurely done, whileſt he was a hunting uncertain and dangerous, in his walks of pleaſure they gueſſed it would prove hard and unſucceſsful, and at Feaſts doubtful; wherefore they determined to fall on him at ſome publick Pomp and Solemnity, where they were certain he would be preſent, and they with leaſt ſuſpicion might aſſemble their Friends, concluding that if any of them were in the execution taken, the reſt ſhould kill him in the midſt of their enemies. It was now the year 1476, and nigh unto Chriſtmaſs, and becauſe the Prince was accuſtomed in great Pomp upon S. *Stephens* day, to viſit the Church of that Martyr, they reſolved that the time and place for putting their deſign in execution; and on the morning of that Saints day, cauſed ſeveral of their truſty friends and ſervants to arm themſelves, pretending to go and aſſiſt *John Andrea*, who

againſt the mind of ſome envious neighbours, had a deſire to carry water into his lands, and them thus armed they brought to the Church, alleadging that before their departure, they would take leave of the Prince; they likewiſe aſſembled thither under divers pretences, ſeveral other of their friends and relations, hoping the principal deed being once done, every one would be ready to join in what remained, and their intent was aſſoon as the Prince was ſlain, to join with thoſe armed men, and go to that place of the City, where they might with moſt eaſe raiſe the people, and perſwade them to arm themſelves againſt the Dutcheſs, and the chiefeſt of the Court, hoping the people by reaſon of the famine wherewith they were oppreſſed, would be ready to follow them; reſolving for an encouragement to give them the ſpoil of the houſes of *Cecco Simonetta*, *John Botti* and *Francis Luconi*, chief Miniſters of State. This determination made, and the execution firmly reſolved in their minds, *John Andrea* with his companions came early to the Church, where they heard Maſs together; after which, *John Andrea* turning towards an image of S. *Ambroſe*, ſaid; *O thou Guardian and Patron of our City, thou knoweſt our intention, and the end why we adventure our ſelves into ſo many dangers; be propitious to our undertakings, and by favouring juſtice make it appear how much injuſtice diſpleaſeth thee.* To the Duke on the other

other ſide before he came to Church, happened many things to prognoſticate his approaching death, for in the morning when he roſe, he put on (according to his uſual cuſtom) his privy Armour, which preſently after, either becauſe he thought it not becoming, or that it hurt his body, he put off: then he had a mind to hear Maſs in the Caſtle, but his Chaplain was already gone to S. *Stephens* with all the Furniture of the Chappel: then he would have had the Biſhop of *Como* ſay Maſs in his ſtead, but he alleadged certain reaſonable impediments, ſo that conſtrained as it were by neceſſity, he reſolved to go to Church, but firſt he called for his two ſons, *John Galeazzo* and *Hermes* whom he embraced and kiſſed many times, as if he had no power to depart from them: the conſpirators in the mean time, both to leſſen all ſuſpicion, and ſhelter themſelves from the cold, which was then very violent, were retired in a chamber of the chief Prieſt of the Church their friend, till upon word brought, that the Duke was coming, they went forth into the Church, and *John Andrea* and *Girolamo* placed themſelves on the right hand, at the entrance into the Church, and *Charles Viſconti* on the left, thoſe that preceded the Duke were all gone in, and he juſt upon entrance encompaſſed with a great multitude, as in ſuch a Ducal Pomp was convenient: the firſt that moved towards him were *Lampognano* and *Girolamo*, theſe pretending to make room for the

Duke came up cloſe to him, and aſſaulted him with ſharp and ſhort daggers they had hid in their ſleeves. *Lampognano* gave him two wounds, one in the Belly, and the other in the threat; *Girolamo* likewiſe wounded him in the throat and the breſt: *Charles Viſconti* having taken his ſtand near the door, ſo that the Duke was paſt him ere he was ſet upon by his companions, could not reach to wound him before, but gave him two ſtabs into the back and ſhoulder, ſo quick and ſudden were theſe ſix wounds given, that the Duke was fallen before any man perceived it, nor could he do or ſay any thing that was known, ſave only as he fell, he once cryed out, *O Lady help me.* The Duke fallen, the noiſe and clamour was great, many ſwords were drawn, and as it uſually happens in ſuch unlook'd for caſes, many run out of the Church, and many run towards the tumult, without knowing any certainty of the matter. But thoſe that were neareſt to the Duke, and had ſeen him ſlain, knowing his murderers, purſued them; and of the conſpirators *John Andrea* endeavouring to get out of the Church went among the women, who being many, and as the cuſtom was, ſet on the ground, he was ſo entangled by their coats, that by a Moor one of the Dukes Footmen, he was overtaken and ſlain: *Charles* was likewiſe ſlain by the ſtanders by; but *Girolamo Olgiati* eſcaped out among the croud, and ſeeing his companions

Galeazo Duke of *Milan* ſlain.

panions ſlain, and not knowing whither to flye went home, where neither his father nor brothers would receive him; but his mother having compaſſion of her ſon, recommended him to a Prieſt, an ancient friend of their Family; who putting him in his Friars weeds, conveyed him to his houſe where he ſtaid two days, not without hopes that there might ſome tumult be raiſed in *Milan*, whereby he might be ſaved, but that not coming to paſs, and fearing to be found there, he attempted to flye in diſguiſe, but being known he was brought before the Magiſtrate, where he declared the whole order of the conſpiracy. *Girolamo* was about three and twenty years of age, nor was he leſs reſolute in ſuffering, than he had been in acting; for whileſt he ſtood naked, and the Hangman before him with his knife in his hand ready to cut him in pieces, he ſpoke theſe Latine words, for he was learned, *Mors acerba, fama perpetua, ſtabit vetus memoria facti.* This attempt of theſe unhappy young men was cloſely contrived, and reſolutely executed; and the occaſion of their ruine was their not being followed, or defended by thoſe they truſted would have done it. Let Princes therefore learn to live in ſuch a manner, and gain ſo much love and reverence, that none can hope for ſafety that kills them: and let private perſons know how vain the imagination is, to believe the multitude, though they are diſcontented, will in danger

ger follow or accompany them. This accident amazed all *Italy*, but thoſe which ſoon after happened in *Florence* did much more terrifie it; by which the peace which had continued twelve years was broke; as in the next Book ſhall be ſet down, which as it begins with Blood and Horrour, ſo it ends with ſorrow and tears.

THE

THE
Florentine Hiſtory
Written by
NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL.

BOOK VIII.

THE beginning of this eighth Book being placed in the midſt of two Conſpiracies, one in *Milan* already related, the other happening in *Florence*, and now to be told. It might ſeem convenient (purſuant to the method begun) to diſcourſe ſomething concerning the nature of Conſpiracies, and the importance of them, which I would willingly do, if I had not before ſpoken concerning them, or it were a matter to be briefly paſſed over. But ſince it both requireth great conſideration, and ſomething has already been elſewhere ſaid concerning it, I forbear any further mention thereof, and proceed to relate. That as the Houſe of the *Medici* had overcome all thoſe enemies, which openly

had oppoſed them; ſo to compleat to themſelves and Family, the ſole and ample authority over the City; it was likewiſe requiſite they ſhould oppreſs all thoſe who ſecretly plotted againſt them, for whileſt they contended with authority equalled by any other Families, thoſe Citizens who envied their greatneſs, might openly oppoſe them, without fear of being oppreſſed in the beginning of their attempts; for whileſt the Magiſtrates were free, neither Faction till they had loſt the day, had any occaſion of fear. But after the victory in 1466, the Government was ſo cloſely graſped by the *Medici*, and they aſſumed ſo great Authority, that if any were diſcontented, they were enforced either patiently to ſubmit to the Government under which they lived, or elſe privately and by way of conſpiracy attempt a remedy; which plots ſeldom ſucceed, begetting for the moſt part ruine to thoſe which form them, and greatneſs to thoſe againſt whom they are contrived; ſo that any Prince or Lord of a City being by conſpiracy aſſaulted, if he be not like the Duke of *Milan* (which rarely happens) ſlain, becomes more powerful than before; and off-times from a good man turns wicked; for theſe private plots create occaſions of fear, fear ſeeks ſecurity, and the ſearch of ſecurity produces injury of others, which is the common mother of hatred, and oftentimes of his own deſtruction; and thus indeed treaſons are the immediate deſtroyers

ſtroyers of thoſe that contrive them, and one way or other in concluſion offend him againſt whom they are contrived. *Italy* was as we have before related, divided into two factions: the Pope and King of one party, and the *Venetians* Duke and *Florentines* on the other. And though war was not yet kindled amongſt them, yet every day brought forth new blaſts to blow the coals, and the Pope eſpecially in all his actions and enterpriſes ſtudied to affront the State of *Florence*; for *Philip de Medici* Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, about that time dying, the Pope contrary to the will of the Senate of *Florence* inveſted *Francis Salviati*, whom he knew to be an enemy to the houſe of *Medici* with that Archbiſhoprick, to whom the Senate refuſing to give poſſeſſion, there ſprung up new, and more grievous offences, by reaſon of that conteſt between the Pope and that State, beſides in *Rome* his Holineſs conferred many favours on the Family of the *Pazzi*, and upon all occaſions diſcountenanced the *Medici*. The *Pazzi* in thoſe times both for riches and honour, lived in as much ſplendor as any family in *Florence*; the head of whom was *Meſſer Jacob*, who for his Riches and Nobility was by the people made Knight; he had no children, but one natural daughter, but he had many Nephews, ſons of *Meſſer Peter* and *Anthony* his brothers; the chief of which were *William*, *Francis*, *Rinate* and *John*, and after them, *Andrew*, *Nicholas* and *Galeatto*: *Coſmo de*

Two powerful factions in *Italy*.

Medici

Medici (obſerving their riches and glory) had married his Niece *Biancha* to *William*, hoping by this alliance to keep the Families more united, and remove that enmity and hatred, which are the uſual products of envy and jealouſie: yet (ſo fallacious and uncertain are the contrivances of man) matters fell out quite otherwiſe, for thoſe who counſelled *Lorenzo*, inſinuated how it was dangerous and deſtructive to his authority, to ſuffer any Citizens to heap up Riches and Honours; whence it happened that Mr. *Jacob* and his Nephews were not advanced to thoſe degrees of Honour, other Citizens thought they had deſerved: and hence ſprung the firſt anger in the *Pazzi*, and fear in the *Medici*, and the one increaſing, afforded matter and growth to the other; for the *Pazzi* in all debates to which the other Citizens aſſembled, were not kindly hearkened to by the Magiſtrates: And the counſel of eight (*Francis Pazzi* happening to be at *Rome*) upon a ſlight occaſion, and without obſerving the reſpect uſual to Citizens of his quality, conſtrained him to return to *Florence*, which made the *Pazzi* in all places rip up their grievances with bitter and vehement reproaches, and thoſe increaſed the others jealouſies, and added to their own injury. *John Pazzi* had married the daughter of *John Borromei* a very rich man, whoſe eſtate, he dying without iſſue Male, fell by right to his daughter; however *Charles* his Nephew poſſeſſed

Diſcontents between the *Medici* and *Pazzi*.

poſſeſſed himſelf of part of his goods. and the cauſe coming to a tryal, a Law was made diſinheriting *John Pazzi*'s wife, and giving the eſtate to *Charles*, which injuſtice the *Pazzi* wholly imputed to the *Medici*; about which *Julian* many times complained to his brother *Lorenzo*, telling him he was doubtful, leaſt by graſping too much, they ſhould loſe all; but *Lorenzo* warm in youth and authority would take all things on himſelf, and was ambitious, men ſhould know they were done by him. The *Pazzi* with ſo great riches, and ſuch nobility, incapable of ſuffering ſo many injuries, began to conſult how they might revenge themſelves: the firſt that made a motion againſt the *Medici* was *Francis*, who more ſenſible, and withal more couragious than the reſt, reſolved to attain what he wanted, or loſe what he had; and becauſe he hated the Government of *Florence*, he lived for the moſt part in *Rome*, where according to the cuſtom of the *Florentine* Merchants, he drove a great Trade, and had a mighty ſtock of money, and Earl *Girolamo* being his intimate Friend, they often made mutual complaints of the *Medici*; inſomuch that after many conſultations, they at length concluded that ere the one could be ſecure in his eſtate, or the other in his City, there was an abſolute neceſſity of changing the Government of *Florence*, which they could contrive no way to effect, but by the death of *Lorenzo* and *Julian*: they ſuppoſed the

Conſpiracy againſt *Lorenzo* and *Julian Medici*.

the Pope and the King would eaſily conſent, if the facility of accompliſhing it were declared to them; having formed theſe imaginations in their heads, they communicated them to *Francis Salviati* Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, who being ambitious, and lately injured by the *Medici*, readily joined with them; and examining among themſelves what was fit to be done, they determined (to add the greater facility to the enterprize) to gain *Meſſer Jacob Pazzi* to their party; whereupon they thought it convenient that *Francis Pazzi* ſhould to this intent go to *Florence*, and the Archbiſhop and Earl ſtay at *Rome* to ſollicite the Pope, when there ſhould be occaſion. *Francis* being come to *Florence*, found *Meſſer Jacob* more reſerved, and difficult to be perſwaded, than he could have wiſhed him; whereof giving advice to *Rome*, it was judged fit to employ ſome greater authority to diſpoſe him, to which end, the Archbiſhop and Earl communicated the whole deſign to *John Battiſta* of *Monteſecco* the Popes General; he was a very famous Captain, and much obliged to the Pope and Earl, yet he diſliked the plot as difficult and dangerous; which danger and difficulties the Archbiſhop endeavoured to remove, by telling him what aſſiſtance the Pope and King would give to the enteprize, adding withal the hate born by the Citizens of *Florence* to the *Medici*, the numerous kindred of the *Salviati* and *Pazzi*, and

the

the eaſineſs of killing them as they were walking the City without any guard or any ſuſpicion, which done, the change of Government would follow of courſe; all which *John Battiſta* gave no intire credit to, having heard many *Florentines* affirm the contrary. Whileſt they were laying theſe plots and contrivances, it happened that *Charles* Lord of *Faenza* fell ſo ſick, that there was little hopes of his recovery. The Archbiſhop and Earl thought they had now an opportunity to ſend *John Battiſta* to *Florence*, and thence into *Romania*, under pretence of regaining certain towns poſſeſſed by the Lord of *Faenza*, the Earl therefore gave Commiſſion to *John Battiſta* to confer with *Lorenzo*, and in his name deſire his advice in the management of the affairs of *Romania*, and that afterwards he ſhould conſult with *Francis Pazzi*, and both together endeavour to diſpoſe *Meſſer Jacob* to their party, and to the end he might be back'd with the Popes authority, they procured him before his departure audience from his Holineſs, who engaged with all his power to further the deſign. *John Battiſta* being arrived at *Florence* addreſſed himſelf to *Lorenzo*, by whom he was courteouſly received and in all his demands prudently and friendly adviſed; at which *John Battiſta* was ſomewhat amazed, finding him a man quite different from what he had been repreſented, for he perceived him to be courteous, diſcreet and a

great friend of the Earls; however he would ſpeak with *Francis*, but not finding him (for he was gone to *Lucca*) he went himſelf to *Meſſer Jacob*, and at firſt found him very averſe to the deſign, but before they parted (ſomewhat moved with the Popes authority) he told *John Battiſta* that he ſhould go to *Romania*, and by that time he returned *Francis* would be come to *Florence*, and then they would diſcourſe the matter at large. *John Battiſta* went and returned, and ſtill continued to entertain *Lorenzo* with his feigned Commiſſion from the Earl, and afterwards held divers conferences with *Francis* and *Meſſer Jacob*, whom at length they prevailed with ſo far, that he conſented to the conſpiracy. Then they began to conſult of the execution, *Meſſer Jacob* thought it impoſſible whileſt both brothers were in *Florence*, and therefore adviſed to ſtay till *Lorenzo* went to *Rome*, whither there was a report he was deſigned: *Francis* would have been glad to have had *Lorenzo* at *Rome*; however ſuppoſing he did not go, he affirmed that either at a wedding, at ſome publick ſports, or in the Church both brothers might be ſlain; and as to foreign aid, in his judgment the Pope might draw together an Army, under pretence of aſſaulting the Caſtle of *Montone*, which he had a juſt occaſion to take from Earle *Charles*, for having raiſed the tumults before mentioned in the Countrey of *Siena* and *Perugia*; yet they made no farther

concluſion

concluſion ſave that *Francis de Pazzi*, and *John Battiſta* ſhould go to *Rome*, and there with the Pope and Earl determine all things, the matter was afreſh debated at *Rome*, and in the end it was concluded (an expedition againſt *Montone* being reſolved) that *John Francis* of *Tolentino*, a Captain of the Popes ſhould go into *Romania*, and *Lorenzo* of *Caſtello* into his own Country, and both keep their forces in a readineſs to obſerve ſuch orders, as they ſhould receive from the Archbiſhop *Salviati*, and *Francis Pazzi*, who together with *John Battiſta* of *Monteſecco* ſhould come to *Florence*, where they ſhould make proviſion of all things neceſſary to put their deſign in execution, to which King *Ferdinand* had by his Ambaſſador promiſed his aſſiſtance. The Archbiſhop and *Francis*, being come to *Florence*, drew into their party, *Jacob* the ſon of *Meſſer Poggio*, a young man of excellent learning, but ambitious, and deſirous of Novelty; they likewiſe engaged two *Jacob Salviati's*, the one brother, the other kinſman to the Archbiſhop, to them they added *Bernardo Bandini*, and *Napoleone Franceſi*, ſtout young men, and who had been often obliged by the *Pazzi*, of ſtrangers (beſides thoſe before named) there were joyned with them *Meſſer Antonio de Volterra*, and one *Stephen* a Prieſt, who taught the Latin Tongue to *Jacob de Pazzi's* daughter. *Renate de Pazzi*, a prudent and grave man, and who very well knew the ill conſe-

qu[illegible]nces of ſuch undertakings, not only re[illegible]ed to joyn in the conſpiracy, but deteſted it, and by all honeſt means he could ſought to prevent it. The Pope had in the Univerſity of *Piſa* cauſed to be educated in the ſtudy of the Cannon Laws, *Raffael de Riario*, Nephew to Earl *Girolamo*, and whilſt he was yet there, had advanced him to the Dignity of Cardinal. The Conſpirators thought convenient to bring this Cardinal to *Florence*, not only the better to conceal the Plot (as deſigning in his houſe to hide thoſe Conſpirators, they had occaſion of) but likewiſe to gain a fitter opportunity of excuting it. The Cardinal therefore coming, wasby *Meſſer Jacob de Pazzi* entertained at *Montughi*, his Country-houſe near *Florence*. The Conſpirators by his means had deſigned to get *Lorenzo* and *Julian* together, and the firſt time that happened to kill them: they therefore contrived, they ſhould invite the Cardinal to their own houſe at *Fieſole*, whither *Julian* by chance, or of purpoſe came not, ſo that appointment failed; then they determined he ſhould invite them at *Florence*, whither they could not chuſe but both come, and appointed the feaſt on Sunday the 26 of *April* 1478, the Conſpirators hoping they might find means to murther them, at this feaſt met together on *Saturday* night, and ordered all things they thought fit for the execution next day, but in the morning *Francis Pazzi* had intelligence that *Julian* would

would not come to the Feaſt, whereupon the Conſpirators again aſſembled and concluded, that the execution muſt not be longer delayed, for that it was impoſſible, being known to ſo many, but it would be diſcovered; wherefore they reſolved to murther them in the Cathedral Church of *Santa Reparata*, whither the Cardinal going, the two brothers would (according to cuſtom) attend him, they aſſigned to *John Battiſta* the charge of killing *Lorenzo*, and *Francis Pazzi*, and *Bernard Bandini* were to murder *Julian*. *John Battiſta* refuſed the office: for whether the familiarity he had had with *Lorenzo* had ſoftned his mind, or whether moved by ſome other reaſon, he told them he durſt not commit ſuch a villany in the Church, and add ſacriledge to treaſon. This was the firſt ſtep to the ruine of their deſign; for ſtraitened by time, they were conſtrained to give the charge to *Antonio* of *Volterra*, and *Stephen* the Prieſt, two whoſe nature and experience rendred them unfit for it; for no action requires more reſolution and ſetled courage than this, and he who undertakes any thing of this kind, ought to be a man experienced in blood and ſlaughter, it having oft-times been ſeen that men, though trained up in arms, and at all times elſe couragious have had their hearts fail upon ſuch attempts. However this reſolution held, and they agreed that the ſignal to fall on, ſhould be when the Prieſt at the high Altar began

to ſing Maſs, and that at the ſame time the Archbiſhop *Salviati*, with *Giacopo Poggio*, ſhould ſeize on the publick Palace, to the intent the Senate might be brought (as ſoon as the two young men were ſlain) either voluntarily, or by force to favour their deſign. Thus determined, they went to the Church, whither the Cardinal with *Lorenzo Medici* were already gone. The Church was full of people, and Divine Service begun, but *Julian Medici*, not yet come, whereupon *Francis Pazzi*, together with *Bernardo*, who were appointed to murder him, went home to find him, and by cunning flattery, and artifices perſwaded him to come to Church. It is a thing notoriouſly memorable how ſuch inveterate hatred, accompanied with the thoughts of ſo deteſtable a villany, could with ſuch undauntedneſs of mind, and obſtinacy of ſpirit be concealed in *Francis* and *Barnardo*, for all the way as they conducted him, and in the Church, they entertained him with pleaſant and youthful diſcourſe. Nor did *Francis* forbear out of a pretence of kindneſs and familiarity to take *Julian* in his arms, embracing and preſſing his body to find out, if he had any privy armour. *Julian* and *Lorenzo* were both ſenſible of the hate the *Pazzi* bore them, and how they deſired to take away their authority in the State, but they did not fear their lives, believing when they did attempt any thing they would do it civily, and not with ſuch extre-

extremity of violence, and therefore free from any ſuch miſtruſt, they took ſo little care of themſelves, that they always entertained them with all manner of friendlineſs. The Murtherers thus prepared, thoſe appointed to aſſaſſinate *Lorenzo*, thruſt up cloſe to him, which by reaſon of the croud, they might eaſily do without ſuſpicion, and the others did the like to *Julian*, when the time appointed being come, *Bernardo Bandini* with a ſhort dagger prepared for the purpoſe, ſtabs *Julian* in the breſt, who advancing two or three ſteps fell to the ground, and *Francis Pazzi* throwing himſelf upon him, loaded him with wounds, and was ſo eager in his villany, that blinded with rage and fury, he gave himſelf a deſperate wound in the leg: *Meſſer Antonio* and *Friar Stephen* on the other ſide fell upon *Lorenzo*, but though they made many ſtrokes at him, they gave him only a ſlight wound in the throat; for either through their cowardiſe, or *Lorenzo*'s courage (who ſeeing himſelf thus aſſaulted, bravely with his ſword defended himſelf) ſo their attempt was fruſtrate, and he by the aſſiſtance of thoſe about him ſaved from further harm, whereat diſmayed they fled and hid themſelves, but were afterwards found out, ſhamefully put to death, and dragged through the City. *Lorenzo* in the mean while retired into the Veſtry of the Church with thoſe friends he had about him, and there ſhut themſelves in. *Barnardo Bandini* ſeeing *Julian*

Julian Medici ſlain.

Lorenzo ſaves himſelf

lian dead, ſlew likewiſe *Francis Neri*, a great friend of the *Medici*, either out of ſome old grudge, or becauſe he had endeavoured to ſave *Julian*, and not content with theſe two murders, he ran to ſeek out *Lorenzo*, to ſupply with his courage and activity, the ſloath and cowardiſe of the others; but finding him ſhut up in the veſtry, failed of his intent. In the midſt of this dreadful and villanous accident, the terrour of which made moſt men think the Church was falling on their heads, the Cardinal retired to the Altar, where with great difficulty he was ſaved by the Prieſts, till by the Senates order (when the tumult was ceaſed) he was conveyed to his Palace, where in great fear he remained till his delivery. There was at this time in *Florence* ſome *Perugians* driven from their habitations by the factions, enemies to their Families, whom the *Pazzi* (upon promiſe to reſtore them to their Country) had drawn into the conſpiracy. Theſe the Archbiſhop *Salviati* (who together with *Jacob Poggio*, the two *Salviati*, and other friends, was gone to poſſeſs himſelf of the Palace) took along with him, and being come to the Palace, left ſome of his men below with orders, that when they heard a noiſe, they ſhould ſeiſe on the gates, and himſelf with the greateſt part of the *Perugians*, went up, where finding the Senate at dinner, for it was late he was preſently by *Cæſar Petrucci Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice admitted

mitted. Whereupon entring with a few and leaving the remainder without, they of their own accord ſhut themſelves into the Chancery, whoſe lock was ſo contrived, that without the Key, it could not be opened, neither on the inſide, nor without. The Archbiſhop mean while being gone in with the *Gonfaloniere*, under pretence of having ſome matter to confer with him from the Pope, began to utter ſome broken and diſcompoſed words: Inſomuch, that his fearful ſpeech, and the change of his countenance bred ſuch a ſuſpition in the *Gonfaloniere*, that with a great cry he thruſt him out; and finding there *Jacob Poggio*, took him by the hair, and delivered him into the hands of the Serjeants; and the whole Senate taking the alarum with ſuch arms as came next to hand, fell upon the reſt that were come up with the Archbiſhop, and (part of them being ſhut up, and part terrified and diſmaid) ſoon diſpatcht them all, or threw them alive out of the Palace windows: Of whom the Archbiſhop, the two *Jacob Salviati's*, and *Jacob Poggio* were hanged. Thoſe who remained below in the Palace, had forced the Guards and the Gate, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the lower rooms, ſo that the Citizens, who in this Tumult ran to the Palace, could neither with their arms aſſiſt, nor counſel, adviſe the Senators. Mean while *Francis Pazzi* and *Bernard Bandini* ſeeing *Lorenzo* eſcaped, and one of themſelves,

The Archbiſhop and other conſpirators hanged.

ſelves, in whom the main hopes of the enterpriſe lay, grievouſly wounded, were daunted. And *Bernardo*, with the ſame activity of ſpirit, wherewith he had aſſaulted the *Medici*, begins to conſider of his own ſafety, and ſeeing all loſt flees to ſave himſelf. *Francis* being returned to his houſe, made tryal if he could ſit on horſeback, (for the orders were, that he with ſome men at arms ſhould ride about the Town, and call the people to liberty and arms) but he could not, ſo dangerous was his wound, and ſo much blood he had loſt; wherefore putting off his clothes, he laid himſelf in his naked bed, deſiring *Meſſer Jacob* to do that which he himſelf could not; *Meſſer Jacob*, though old and unuſed to theſe Tumults, yet to make this laſt tryal of his fortune, mounted on horſeback, with about an hundred armed men prepared before for that purpoſe, and goes into the *Piazza* of the Palace, calling the people to his aſſiſtance, and proclaiming liberty; but becauſe the firſt were by the fortune and liberality of the *Medici* made deaf, and the other was no otherwiſe deſired in *Florence* than enjoyed, none anſwered him, only the Senate, who ſtill kept in the upper part of the Palace, ſaluted him with ſtones, and with the deepeſt threatnings they could deviſe, terrified him: And *Meſſer Jacob* being in ſuſpence what to do, was met by *John Soriſteri* his brother-in-Law, who reproving him for being the occaſion

caſion of theſe Tumults, exhorted him to return to his houſe, aſſuring him that the welfare of the people and liberty of the City concerned other Citizens as well as himſelf. Wherefore deſpairing of any help, ſeeing *Lorenzo* his enemy alive, *Francis* wounded, and himſelf not followed by any, not knowing what other courſe to take, he reſolved, if it were poſſible, by flight to ſave his life, and to that end with the company he had with him in the *Piazza*, takes his way out of *Florence* towards *Romania*: By this time all the City was up in arms, and *Lorenzo de Medici* was, accompanied with many armed men, come to his own houſe: The people had likewiſe recovered the Palace, and killed or taken all thoſe that poſſeſſed it. And now the name of *Medici* was proclaimed through every ſtreet, and the quarters of the dead, either fixed upon their weapons points, or dragged through the ſtreets; and every one with words full of rage and actions as cruel perſecuted the *Pazzi*, already had the people entred their houſes, and naked as he was drawn *Francis* out, whom having drag'd to the Palace, they hanged up with the Archbiſhop, and the reſt: Yet all the injuries and affronts done him, either in the way, or afterwards could not extract one word from him, but fixedly looking upon every one, without ſo much as a groan, he dyed. *William Pazzi*, as well for his own innocency, as for the ſake of his wife *Bianca*

The reſolute death of *Francis Pazzi*.

Bianca, was saved in his Brother-in-law *Lorenzo*'s Palace. There was not a Citizen in this terrible neceſſity, but either armed or diſarmed, went to *Lorenzo*'s houſe, offering him their lives and fortunes. So great was the love and favour that Houſe had by their prudence and liberality gained. *Rinato Pazzi* was (when this villany was done) retired into his houſe in the Country, where hearing the news, he would have fled in diſguiſe, but by the way was known, taken and brought back to *Florence*. *Meſſer Jacob* was likewiſe taken paſſing the Mountains, for thoſe Mountaineers having notice of what was paſt at *Florence*, ſuſpecting him becauſe of his flight, ſet upon him & brought him back, nor could he obtain the favour, though he often beg'd it to to be killed by them on the way. *Meſſer Jacob* and *Rinate* were adjudged to dye four days after the action, and in all thoſe executions which in that interval happened, and which had covered the ſtreets with the Carcaſes and quarters of men, none was obſerved to be pittyed, or to touch any man with the leaſt compaſſion, but *Rinate*; for he was eſteemed a good and a prudent man, and not obſerved to be tainted with that pride which infected the reſt of his Family. And now becauſe the perſecution of theſe Conſpirators ſhould be in all points exemplary. *Meſſer Jacob Pazzi* was firſt taken out of the Tomb of his Anceſtors, and as one excommunicated, buried under the City walls;

and

and being there again dug up, and with the ſame halter, in which he was hanged, drag'd naked through the ſtreets, and ſince he could not on earth find a quiet Sepulture was by thoſe that thus drag'd him thrown into the River *Arno*, whoſe waters were then very high. A great example of the ficklenes of fortune, to ſee a man of that riches and of ſo happy an Eſtate, fall with ſo much infelicity ruine and diſgrace. Some have reported him very vitious, as addicted to gaming and ſwearing, like one deſperate and careleſs. If it were ſo, he recompenſed thoſe vices with his liberality and alms, for he relieved many poor, and gave large Donatives to pious Structures. And this one good thing may be ſaid of him, that the *Saturday* preceding the day appointed for this cruel murder, (that none might be ſharers in his misfortune) he paid all his debts, and all the Merchandiſe he had either in the Cuſtom-houſe, or at home, belonging to others, with wonderful care he cauſed to be delivered to the owners. *John Battiſta de Monteſecco*, after many tedious examinations was beheaded. *Napoleone Franceſi* by flight eſcaped puniſhment. *William Pazzi* was confined, and all his Kinſmen that remained alive impriſoned in the Dungeon of the Caſtle of *Volterra*, All Tumults appeaſed, and the Conſpirators puniſhed, the Funerals of *Julian* were celebrated, which were accompanied with the tears of all the Citizens, for indeed he was

a man endowed with all that winning affability courteſie and liberality could be wiſhed or deſired in one of his degree and condition. There remained of him one ſon, born ſome few months after his death, and called *Julio*, who is endowed with that virtue and fortune, which all the world at preſent knows, and which when I come to the occurrences of theſe times, ſhall, God granting me life, fully ſet forth. Thoſe forces under *Meſſer Lorenzo de Caſtello* in the Vale of *Tevere*, and thoſe under *John Franciſco Tolentino* in *Romania* were both advancing at the ſame time towards *Florence*, in favour of the *Pazzi*, till underſtanding how the deſign had miſcarried, they returned back. But ſince that change of Government in *Florence* deſigned by the King and Pope had not ſucceeded, they determined that what they could not effect by conſpiracies, they would by open war; and both one and the other with all poſſible ſpeed drew together their Forces to aſſault the State of *Florence*, declaring that all they deſired from that City was the removal of *Lorenzo de Medici*, who only of all the *Florentines* was their enemy. The Kings forces had already paſſed the *Tronto*, and the Popes were in the Country of *Perugia*, who that he might make the *Florentines* feel the ſmart of Spiritual as well as Temporal wounds, excommunicates and curſes them. Whereupon the *Florentines* ſeeing ſo many ſeveral forces moving againſt them, prepared with all diligence for their defence, and

The Pope and King make war with *Florence*.

Lorenzo de Medici, ſince publick fame reported the War, made only againſt him, aſſembles in the Palace of the Lords all the Citizens of quality, to the number of above three hundred, to whom he ſpake in this manner. *I know not (moſt mighty Lords and Right worſhipful Citizens) whether I ought to grieve or rejoyce at what is lately happened, for when I conſider with how much fraud and deceit, with how much malice and hatred I was aſſaulted, and my brother ſlain, I cannot but be concerned for my ſelf, and with all my heart, and with all my ſoul grieve for him: but when I conſider with what active readineſs, with what faithful diligence, with what intire love, and univerſal conſent, you have revenged my brother, and defended me, I cannot but rejoyce; nay, I find my ſelf exalted in my ſpirits, and glory in my fortune: For if this experience has let me know I had more enemies in this City than I thought: It has likewiſe taught me, that I have more fervent and faithful friends than I believed, I muſt therefore condole with you for the injuries of others, and rejoyce for your kindneſs: yet ought my ſorrow to be the greater as the injuries received are ſo rare, ſo without example, and ſo little by us deſerved. Conſider, moſt worthy Citizens, to what extremities the perverſneſs of fortune has reduced our houſe, that the being encompaſſed with friends in the midſt of our kindred; no, not the Church it ſelf can ſecure us. Thoſe who are in fear of death uſe to run to their friends for aſſiſtance, to their kindred*

for

for protection, but we alas find ours armed for our deſtruction. Thoſe who either on publick or private accounts are perſecuted, uſe to flee to the Church for ſanctuary, but where others are defended, we are ſlain. Where Parricides and aſſaſſines are ſecure; the Medici *meet their Murderers: But God who hath hitherto never forſaken our houſe, hath now preſerved us, and undertaken the defence of our juſt cauſe. For what injury have we ever done to create in any man ſo fierce a deſire of revenge? theſe very men, who have perſecuted us with ſuch malice, we never ſo much as privately offended, for had we injured them, they could never have had the opportunity thus to injure us. And when they attribute to us publick injuries, if ever any were done them, (which I know not of) they offend you more than us; and this Palace, and the Majeſty of this Government, rather than our houſe, by imagining that you, for our ſakes, undeſervedly oppreſs your Citizens, which is a ſuggeſtion utterly alien to truth, for we, if we could, and you, if we would, had never conſented to it, for whoever ſearches into the truth, will find that our houſe, for no other cauſe has with ſuch general conſent been advanced by you, but only that we have ſtill endeavoured with liberality and kindneſs to overcome all men. If we then have been honourers of ſtrangers, how ſhould we be injurers of our Kindred? If deſire of rule moved them to this (as their ſeiſing the Palace, and coming armed into the* Piazza *ſufficiently evidences) the more wicked ambi-*

tion

tions and damnable the occaſion is, the more it diſcovers and condemns it ſelf. If out of envy and hatred to our authority they had done it, they offend not us, but you that gave it: but ſurely that authority merits hate which men uſurp, not what they gain by liberality, humanity, and magnificence. And you well know our houſe never mounted to any degree of honour, but by the order of this Magiſtracy, and your univerſal conſent: My Grandfather Coſmo *returned not from baniſhment by arms or violence, but your general and united vote. My Father when old and infirm defended not himſelf from ſo many Enemies of the State, but you with your good will and authority defended him. Nor could I after my fathers death, (being but as it were a child) have maintained the honour of my family, had it not been ſupported by your favour and counſel: Never could thoſe of my Family have governed this Republick, had not you with them governed as you do ſtill govern it; I cannot therefore imagine what reaſon they have to hate us, or whence their Malice ſprung? let them envy their own Anceſtors, who with pride and avarice loſt that reputation, which ours with quite different qualities have known how to gain. But grant that we have done them mighty injuries, and they had reaſon to proſecute our ruine: yet why ſhould they offend this Palace? Why enter into a league with the King and Pope againſt the liberty of this Republick? Why diſturb the ſetled peace of* Italy? *In this they are without excuſe, for*

they ought to offend thoſe who have offended them, and not confound private enmities with publick injuries; whereby though their malice be ſtopt, our miſeries are revived, the Pope and King (upon their ſole account) coming to invade us: which war they ſay is made againſt me and my family, I wiſh to God it were true, then the remedy were both ready and certain; for I will never be ſo ill a Citizen, to value more my own ſafety, than your danger; much rather ſhould I quench your flames with my own ruine; but becauſe injuries done by the mighty, are always covered with ſome more ſeemly pretence, they have choſen this veil to caſt over their preſent injuſtice: but if you think otherwiſe, I am in your hands, you may ſupport, or you may ſuppreſs me, you, my fathers, you my defenders, for what ever you ſhall command, I ſhall readily obey; nor will I refuſe, if you ſhall think fit, to end this war with my own, which was begun with my brothers blood. The Citizens while *Lorenzo* ſpoke, could not refrain from tears, and with the ſame compaſſion he was heard, he was by one commiſſioned thereunto, anſwered: Telling him, *that City acknowledged the merits of him and his, to be ſuch, that he might reſt aſſured, that with the ſame readineſs and affection wherewith they had revenged his brother, and defended him, they would ſtill preſerve his life and reputation, nor ſhould he loſe either, till they had loſt their Countrey.* And to make their actions correſpond with their words, they ordered a

The Citizens obliging anſwer to *Lorenzo's* ſpeech.

a guard of his body, a certain number of Soldiers to be maintained by the publick, to defend him againſt domeſtick treaſons, then they gave directions for the war, leavying men, and raiſing money, as far as their power in either would extend; by virtue of their League, they ſent likewiſe to the Duke and *Venetians* for aid. And ſince the Pope had proved himſelf a wolf, and not a Shepherd, that they might not as guilty be devoured, with the beſt declarations they could invent, they juſtified their cauſe, filling all *Italy* with accounts of the treaſons practiſed againſt their State: "Setting forth the impiety and injuſtice of the Pope, who having by unlawful means uſurped the Papacy, with malice exerciſed it; for he had not only ſent one, by him advanced to the chief prelatical Dignity, in the company of Traitors and Parricides, to commit ſuch a murder in the Church, in the midſt of Divine Service, and at the inſtant of the celebration of the moſt holy Sacrament, but afterwards (ſince his deſign of murdering their Citizens, changing their Government, and ſacking their City at pleaſure had not ſucceeded) he had excommunicated, and with papal maledictions threatned and oppreſſed them: but if God were juſt, who hated violence, he would certainly manifeſt his diſpleaſure againſt this his Vicar, & right their wrongs, who (having no other refuge) had recourſe unto him. And ſo far were the *Florentines*

The *Florentines* ſlight the Popes curſes.

from receiving this interdiction or obeying it, that they forced the Prieſts to celebrate Divine Service. They likewiſe ſummoned a Council in *Florence* of all the Prelates in *Tuſcany* under their Dominion; wherein they appealed from the unjuſt ſentence of the Pope, to the next General Council: nor did the Pope want reaſons to juſtifie his cauſe; alleadging, "That it appertained to a true paſtor of the Church to "extirpate Tyranny, depreſs the wicked, "and exalt the good, and that it belonged "not to the ſecular power to impriſon Cardinals, hang Biſhops, kill, quarter and "drag through the ſtreets Prieſts without "any diſtinction, ſlaying the innocent and "the guilty. Notwithſtanding ſo many quarrels and accuſations, the Cardinal whom the *Florentines* had in their cuſtody, was delivered up to the Pope; whereupon he without any fear or reſpect, with all his and the Kings Forces aſſailed them: and the two Armies (one under *Alphonſo*, eldeſt ſon of *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*, and the other under *Frederick* Earl of *Urbin*) being entred *Chianti* by way of *Siena* (which ſided with the enemy) took *Radda* and ſeveral other Caſtles, and waſted all the Countrey; which done, they encamped before *Caſtellina*. The *Florentines* beholding that fierce invaſion, were in great fear, being deſtitute of men, and help from their friends coming ſlowly; for though the Duke ſent ſome ſuccours, the *Veneti-*

The King and Pope invade the *Florentines*.

ans denied themſelves obliged to aid the *Florentines* in a private quarrel; for private differences were not to be publickly defended. Wherefore the *Florentines* to diſpoſe the *Venetians* to juſter thoughts, ſent *Thomas Soderini* Ambaſſadour to that Senate, and in the mean time they hired Soldiers, making *Hercules* Marquis of *Ferrara* their General: whileſt they were making theſe preparations, the enemies Army ſo cloſely ſtreightned *Caſtellina*, that the Townſmen, deſpairing of any relief, after forty days ſiege yielded. Thence the enemy turned towards *Arezzo*, and encamped before *Monte S. Sovino*: by this time the *Florentine* Army was in a readineſs, and advancing towards the enemy, took their ſtation within three miles of them, and ſo much incommoded them, that *Frederick* of *Urbin* deſired truce for ſome few days, which was granted ſo much to the *Florentines* diſadvantage, that thoſe who asked it wondred; for had they not obtained it, they muſt have been forced to depart with ſhame and diſhonour, but having ſo many days to put themſelves in order; no ſooner was the truce expired, but they took the Caſtle before the *Florentines* faces; however winter now coming on, for the better conveniency of quarters, the enemy retreated into the Countrey of *Siena*, and the *Florentines* likewiſe withdrawing into the moſt commodious ſtations; the Marquis of *Ferrara* (having done little good for himſelf,

Genoua rebells.

ſelf, and leſs for others) returned to his own Country. About this time *Genoua* rebelled from the State of *Milan* upon theſe occaſions. After the death of *Galeazzo*, *John* his ſon being of an age unfit for Government, there aroſe contention between *Sforza*, *Lewis*, *Octavian* and *Aſcanius* his uncles, and the Lady *Bona* his mother, for every one of them would have the tuition of the young Duke. In which controverſie the Lady *Bona* the old Dutcheſs (by the advice of *Thomas Soderini* then Ambaſſador there for the State of *Florence*, and *Cecco Simonetto* who had been Secretary to *Galeazzo*) got the better; whereupon the *Sforzi* flying from *Milan*, *Octavian* paſſing the *Adda* was drowned, the other were confined to ſeveral places, together with *Robert* Lord of *San Severino*, who during thoſe troubles had deſerted the Dutcheſs, and joined with them. Afterwards thoſe wars happening in *Tuſcany*, hoping by new accidents to meet with new fortunes, they broke their confinements, and each attempted new exploits, to reſtore themſelves to their loſt honours: King *Alphonſo* perceiving that the *Florentines* were in all their neceſſity, aſſiſted only by the State of *Milan*, to deprive them likewiſe of that ſupport, contrived to give the Dutcheſs ſo much trouble in her own eſtates, that ſhe could not provide for the *Florentines*: and by means of *Proſpero Adorni*, the Lord *Robert* and the rebel *Sforzi* cauſed *Genoua* to rebel againſt the Duke. There remain-

ed only faithful to him the little Caſtle, relying on which, the Dutcheſs ſent a conſiderable force to recover the City, but they being defeated, and ſhe ſeeing the danger hanging over her ſons eſtates, and her ſelf, *Tuſcany* being topſie-turvey, and the *Florentines* on whom alone ſhe relyed, in diſtreſs, ſhe determined ſince ſhe could not gain *Genoua* her ſubject, to recover it her friend, and agreed with *Battiſtino Fregoſo* enemy to the *Adorni* to give him the little Caſtle, and make him Prince of *Genoua*, on condition he would drive out the *Adorni*, and not favour the rebel *Sforzi*: *Battiſtino* with the help of the little Caſtle, and his faction, becomes maſter of *Genoua*, and according to their cuſtom makes himſelf *Doge*, ſo that the *Sforzi* and Lord *Robert* chaſed out of *Genoua*, came with their adherents and followers into *Lunigiana*; whereupon the King ſeeing the troubles of *Lombardy* were compoſed, took occaſion from theſe out-caſts of *Genoua* to diſturb *Tuſcany* towards *Piſa*, that the *Florentines* dividing their Forces might be weakened, to which end they gave order (winter being already paſt) that the Lord *Robert* ſhould with his Forces advance from *Lunigiana*, and fall into the Territory of *Piſa*. *Robert* fell fiercely to work, and many of the *Piſan* Caſtles he took and ſack'd, and at length made his incurſions as far as the City. Whileſt theſe things were in agitation, there arrived at *Florence* Ambaſſadours from

from the Emperour, the King of *France*, and King of *Hungary*, all ſent from their reſpective Princes to the Pope, who perſwaded the *Florentines* to ſend Ambaſſadours to his Holineſs, aſſuring them of their utmoſt aſſiſtance by a good and ſound peace, to put an end to this war: the *Florentines* refuſed not to try the experiment, to render themſelves blameleſs, and make it appear to all men they were lovers of peace, ſo the Ambaſſadours went, but returned without any concluſion; whereupon the *Florentines* to honour themſelves with the reputation of the King of *France*'s Friendſhip (whileſt one part of *Italy* injured them and the other forſook them) ſent Ambaſſadour to that King *Donato Acciavolo* a man expert in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, and whoſe Anceſtors had always held one of the prime degrees in the City, but being upon his journey he dyed at *Milan*, whereupon his Countrey, to recompence him in them he had left behind him, and to honour his memory, ſolemnized his Funeral in a moſt magnificent manner at the publick charges, giving penſions and advancement to his ſons, and convenient marriage-portions with his daughters. In his ſtead was ſent Ambaſſadour to the King *Meſſer Guido Antonio Veſpucci* a man excellently skillful both in the civil and Canon Law. The Lord *Robert*'s invaſion of the Territory of *Piſa* ſorely afflicted (as all unexpected accidents do) the *Florentines*, for being ſo

fiercely

fiercely aſſaulted on *Siena* ſide, they knew not how to turn themſelves for the defence of *Piſa*; however with good Commanders and neceſſary proviſions they ſupplyed that City, and to keep the *Luccheſi* faithful, that they might not furniſh the enemy either with men, money or proviſion, they ſent *Peter Caponi* Ambaſſadour thither; who was by that people received with ſuch jealouſie, becauſe of the hatred that City bore the people of *Florence*, ariſing from old injuries and continued fears, that he was ſeveral times in danger of being ſlain by the rabble; ſo that his Embaſſy rather begot new regrets, than contributed to any freſh union. And now the *Florentines* recall'd the Marquis of *Ferrara*, entertained the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and with great inſtance requeſted from the *Venetians* Earl *Charles* ſon of *Braccio*, and *Deiphobus* the ſon of Earl *Jacob*; which in the end after many trials, the *Venetians* granted; for having made truce with the *Turks*, and being left without excuſe, they were aſhamed to violate the faith of the League, ſo Earl *Charles* and *Deiphobus* with a conſiderable force of men at Arms being come and joined with as many as they could ſecurely draw off from the Army, which under the Marquis of *Ferrara* oppoſed the Duke of *Calabria*; they marched towards *Piſa*, to find out the Lord *Robert*, who with his Forces lay near the river of *Serchio*, and though he made ſome appearance as

though

though he would have ſtood the encounter, yet upon better thoughts he retired to *Lunigiana*, and took up his old quarters, where he lay before his attempt on *Piſa*: after his retreat Earl *Charles* recovered all the towns the enemy had taken in that Countrey, and the *Florentines* freed from allarms that way, rendevouz'd their whole Force between *Colle* and S. *Giminiano*; but now there being in the Army by *Charles* his joining in it, people that had been trained up both under *Sforza* and *Braccio*, the ancient enmities ſoon revived, and many believed, had they continued longer together, it would have come to a mutiny; wherefore to chooſe the leaſt of two evils, 'twas judged beſt to divide them, and ſend one party under Earl *Charles* to the Territory of *Perugia*, and let the other ſtay at *Paggibonzi*, where ſtrongly entrenching themſelves, they might prevent the enemy from entring the *Florentines* Countrey, they likewiſe had thoughts by this means to force the enemy to divide their Army; for they believed that either Count *Charles* might ſurpriſe *Perugia* (where they imagined they had many friends) or the *Pope* be conſtrained to ſend a ſtrong party to defend it, they likewiſe gave order (to reduce the Pope into greater neceſſities) that *Meſſer Nicholas Vitelli* who had been expelled the City of *Caſtello*, where *Meſſer Lorenzo* his enemy was Governour, ſhould with ſome conſiderable force approach the Town, and

make

make trial if he could drive out his adversary, and rescue the Town from the Popes obedience; fortune in this beginning, seemed much to favour the *Florentine* affairs; for Earl *Charles* made great progress in the Territory of *Perugia*, and *Nicholas Vitelli*, (though he fail'd of getting entrance into *Castello*) yet he kept the Field, and spoil'd all the Countrey round about, without any opposition, and besides the party encamp'd at *Paggibonzi* made incursions every day to the very walls of *Siena*; however in the conclusion all these hopes prov'd vain. In the first place Earl *Charles*, in the dawn of his victories dyed, yet had his death better'd the *Florentine* affairs, had they known how to make use of the victory occasion'd by it; for assoon as the Popes Army (who were all drawn together at *Perugia*) had intelligence that the Earl was dead, they immediately entertained some hopes that they might the easier oppress the *Florentine* Forces; whereupon taking the Field, they pitch'd their Camp upon the Lake within three miles of the enemy, on the other side *James Guiccardine*, who was Commissary of that Army by the counsel of *Robert* Lord of *Rimini*, who after *Charles* his death was the most reputed and experienced Captain remaining, easily conceiving the occasion of the enemies pride, resolved to stand them, and coming to an engagement near that Lake, where *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* gave that memorable

defeat

defeat to the *Romans*, the Popes Forces were routed, the news of which victory coming to *Florence*, gave great reputation to the Leaders, and universal joy to the people, and certainly had redounded both to their honour and advantage in the whole progress of the war, had not the disorders which happened in the Camp at *Poggibonzi* disturbed the success of it; whereby what was gained by one Army, was more than lost by the other; for they having taken a prey from the *Sanesi*, there happened in the dividing of it, difference between the two Marquisses of *Ferrara* and *Mantoua*; so that, together by the ears they fell, and the mutiny though at last quieted, was so great that the *Florentines* perceiving that they could not employ both of them, consented that the Marquis of *Ferrara* should return home. That Army thus weakened, and without a head, fell into all manner of disorder; whereupon the Duke of *Calabria*, who lay encamped with his Army near *Siena* took a resolution to beat up their Quarters, which was no sooner thought, but done; and the *Florentine* Forces no sooner heard of the enemies approach, but trusting neither to their Arms, nor to their multitude, much superiour to their enemies, nor to the scituation of the place, which art and nature had fortified; without so much as staying to see their enemies, at the first appearance of the dust in the air, shamefully fled leaving their Amunition, Carriages and

The shameful flight of the *Florentine* Camp.

and Artillery a prey to the enemy; ſuch reproachful cowardiſe and diſorder was in the Armies of thoſe times, that the turning of one horſe, either to charge or retreat, gave victory or defeat. This rout loaded the Kings Soldiers with plunder, and the *Florentines* with terrour; for their City was not only afflicted with the war, but miſerably diſtreſſed with the plague, which had in a manner infected the whole City; ſo that the Citizens to flee from the contagion, retired to their Country towns: And that which made the defeat more dreadful, was; that thoſe Citizens whoſe poſſeſſions lay in the Vales of *Piſa* and *Delſa*, being for fear of the plague gone thither, were for fear of another death, forced as ſuddenly with their goods and children to return to *Florence*; and every man ſtood in fear when the enemies would preſent themſelves at the City gates. Thoſe to whom the management of the war was committed, ſeeing theſe diſorders, commanded thoſe who had been victorious in the Country of *Perugia*, that leaving off their proſecution of the war in thoſe parts, they ſhould immediately march into the the Vale of *Delſa*, to oppoſe the enemy, who ſince the late defeats made their inrodes without any controul; and though they had ſo ſtraitened the City of *Perugia*, that every hour they expected its ſurrender, yet the *Florentines* choſe rather to defend their own Towns, than ſeek to poſſeſs them-

themſelves of others. Thus that Army removed from the place of happy ſucceſs, was brought to S. *Caſciano*, a Caſtle within eight miles of *Florence*, it being thought impoſſible they could in any more diſtant Poſt rally the remains of their broken Army. Whileſt in the mean time their enemies at *Perugia* being left free, and without oppoſers made great ſpoil in the Countrey about *Arezzo* and *Cortona*; and the other who under *Alfonſo* Duke of *Calabria* had overcome at *Poggibonzi*, firſt ſeiſed on that town, and then on *Vico*, and ſacking *Certaldo*, after theſe victories and deſolations went and laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Colle*, which in thoſe times was accounted very ſtrong, and might if the defenders proved faithful, have kept the enemy at a bay, till the *Florentines* had reinforced their Army, which they having at length compleated at S. *Caſciano*, whileſt the enemy made many furious aſſaults againſt *Colle*, they reſolved to advance towards that place, to give the inhabitants courage to defend themſelves, and by their preſence ſomewhat allay the violence of the enemies: accordingly they diſlodged from S. *Caſciano*, and encamped at S. *Giminiano*, within five miles of *Colle*; whence with light Horſe-men, and the nimbleſt of their Foot they dayly moleſted the Dukes Camp: but this relief was not ſufficient for thoſe of *Colle*, who wanting all proviſions and neceſſaries, on the thirteenth of *November* yielded, to the great

diſpleaſure

diſpleaſure of the *Florentines*, and joy of their enemies; eſpecially the *Saneſi* who beſides their common hate to the City of *Florence*, bore a private grudge to the inhabitants of *Colle*. Winter was now far advanced, and the ſeaſon improper for war; whereupon the King and Pope either to give ſome hopes of peace, or to have the liberty to enjoy their victories more quietly, offered the *Florentines* a truce of three months, and gave them ten days time to return their anſwer, which was preſently accepted of: but as it happens to all men, that wounds grieve more when the blood grows cold, than when they were firſt given; ſo this ſhort repoſe made the *Florentines* more ſenſible of the miſeries they had endured, and the Citizens freely, and without any reſpect accuſed one another, openly declaiming againſt the miſcarriages of the war, the unneceſſary and vain expences, and the Taxes unjuſtly impoſed, which things were not only privately whiſpered in the corners of the ſtreets, but publickly declared in the Councils, where one had the boldneſs to turn himſelf towards *Lorenzo de Medici*: and tell him, *This City is weary, and will have no longer war, and therefore you muſt of neceſſity conſult of ſome way for peace:* Whereupon *Lorenzo* as ſenſible as any other of the neceſſity, aſſembled thoſe of his friends, whom he believed moſt prudent and faithful; and firſt concluded (ſeeing the *Venetians* cold and faithleſs,

A Truce for three months.

The bold ſpeech of a Citizen to *Lorenzo Medici*.

faithleſs, and the Duke a child, intangled with civil diſcords) that they muſt with new friends ſeek new fortunes: then they were very doubtful into whoſe Arms to caſt themſelves, the Popes or the Kings; but upon ſtrict examination of particulars, they approved the Kings friendſhip, as more ſecure and ſtable, for the ſhort lives of the Popes, the variety of ſucceſſion, the little awe or fear the Church ſtood in of Princes, and its irreſolutions in performance of any undertakings, are reaſons why a ſecular Prince cannot have any intire confidence in a Pope, nor ſecurely join fortunes with him, for whoever is the Popes friend in war and danger, ſhall have his company in victory, but in ruine or diſtreſs be left alone; the Pope being defended and ſupported by ſpiritual power and reputation. They therefore reſolved it beſt to gain the Kings friendſhip, which they conceived could not better, nor with more certainty be done, than by *Lorenzo*'s preſence, for the more freedom and confidence they uſed towards the King, the more eaſily ſhould they in his mind cancel former regrets; whereupon *Lorenzo* having ſetled this reſolution in his mind, recommends the City and State to *Thomas Soderini* then *Gonfaloniere* of Juſtice, and in the beginning of *December* departs from *Florence*, and being arrived at *Piſa*, writes thence to the Senate, the occaſion of his journey; and their Lordſhips to honour him, and that he might

night with the more reputation treat a peace with the King, they made him Ambaſſadour for the *Florentine* people, giving him ample authority to enter into ſuch Leagues, as he ſhould judge beſt for the good of the Republick. During theſe Tranſactions, the Lord *Robert* of *San Severino* together with *Lewis* and *Aſcanius* (for their brother *Sforza* was dead) made a freſh attempt on the State of *Milan* to regain the Government; and having ſurpriſed *Tortona* and *Milan*, and the whole Countrey being in Arms, the Dutcheſs was adviſed to reſtore the *Sforzi*, and to remove all cauſe of civil diſſention, to admit them into the Government. The Author of this Counſel was *Antonio Taſſino* of *Ferrara*, of a very mean deſcent; who coming to *Milan* was firſt entertained by Duke *Galeazzo*, and afterwards by him appointed Chamberlain to his Dutcheſs; whether for the beauty of his body, or ſome other ſecret virtue, he after the Dukes death grew ſo much in favour with the Dutcheſs, that he in a manner governed the State, which extremely angred *Meſſer Cecco* a man of great prudence and experience, ſo that he ſtroſe as much as in him lay, both with the Dutcheſs and other Miniſters of State, to leſſen the Authority of *Taſſino*; which he perceiving, in revenge of thoſe injuries, and to have friends at hand that might defend him from *Meſſer Cecco*, he adviſed the Dutcheſs to reſtore the *Sforzi*; who

The *Sforzi* reſtored to *Milan*.

who followed his Counſel without communicating any thing to *Meſſer Cecco*: whereupon he afterwards told her, You have done an action will deprive you of th Government, and me of my life; whic not long after proved true; for *Meſſer Ce co* was by *Lewis* put to death, and *Taſſino* ſoon after driven out of the Dutchy, at which the Dutcheſs was ſo grievouſly diſcontented, that departing from *Milan*, ſhe renounced the Government of her young ſon to his uncle *Lewis*; and thus *Lewis* being left ſole Governour of *Milan*, became, as ſhall afterwards be declared, the occaſion of the ruine of *Italy*. *Lorenzo* was proceeded on his voyage to *Naples*, and the truce ſtill in force, when beyond all expectation, *Lewis Fregoſo* having intelligence with certain *Serezaneſi*, privately conveyed ſome armed men into that town, and ſurpriſed it; taking all the *Florentines* priſoners. This accident highly diſpleaſed the heads of the *Florentine* State; who imagined all this done by order of King *Ferdinand*, and they ſent meſſengers to the Duke of *Calabria*, who lay with the Army at *Siena* in earneſt manner complaining of their being thus, during the truce, aſſaulted: the Duke gave them all poſſible ſatisfaction both by Letters and Embaſſy, that it was done without his or his fathers conſent or privity, which made the *Florentines* think their condition the worſe, ſeeing their treaſury was empty, the head of their State in the

Serezana ſurpriſed by the Genoueſe.

the Kings hands, an old war with the Pope and King, and a new one with the *Genoueſe*, themſelves friendleſs; for in the *Venetians* they had little hopes, and were fearful of the Governour of *Milan*, whom they knew various and inconſtant. *Lorenzo* was by Sea arrived at *Naples*, where he was not only by the King, but by all that City, and with great expectations honourably received; for ſuch a mighty war being raiſed only to oppreſs him, the greatneſs of his enemies made him be accordingly valued; but when he came into the Kings preſence, and with him began to diſcourſe of the State of *Italy*, the intereſts of its ſeveral Princes and people, and what they might hope from peace, and fear from war, that King having heard him, how ſenſibly he debated things, more now admired at the greatneſs of his mind, the readineſs of his underſtanding, the gravity of his judgment, than he had before wondred how he was able to ſuſtain ſo great a war, inſomuch that he redoubled the honourable opinion he had of him, and began to contrive how he might gain him as a friend, rather than continue him an enemy. However upon various pretences and occaſions he delayed the time from *December* to *March*, to make a double experience not of him only, but the City; for *Lorenzo* wanted no enemies in *Florence*, who would have been glad if the King had retained him, and ſerved him like *Jacob Piccinnio*;

Lorenzo de Medici honourably received by the King.

and under colour of fear, leaſt any diſaſter ſhould betide him, they vented their deſires and wiſhes through the whole City, and in publick debate oppoſed thoſe that favoured *Lorenzo*. And by theſe ſly ways they had ſpread abroad a fame, that if the King kept him long at *Naples*, there would be a change of Government in *Florence*, which made the King ſpin out that time, to ſee if there would happen any tumult in *Florence*; but ſeeing all things quiet, on the ſixth of *March* 1479 he gave him lieve to depart, having firſt endeavoured to oblige him by all kind of civilities and demonſtrations of love; ſo that there became contracted between them a perpetual friendſhip, for the mutual preſervation of the eſtates: ſo that if *Lorenzo* departed great from *Florence*, he returned greater thither, being received by the City with all that joy and gladneſs, which his excellent qualities, and new deſervings might juſtly challenge, having expoſed his own life, to purchaſe his Countreys peace: two days after his arrival, were publiſhed the Articles of peace between the King and Common-wealth of *Florence*, by which they mutually obliged themſelves in a league offenſive and defenſive; and that as for the towns taken from the *Florentines* in the late war, they ſhould be left to the Kings diſcretion, that the *Pazzi* ſhould be releaſed out of the Caſtle of *Volterra*, and that for a certain time a certain ſum of money ſhould be paid to the

Peace concluded with the King.

Duke

Duke of *Calabria*. This peace as ſoon as it was publiſhed, fretted both the Pope and the *Venetians*, for the Pope thought the King ſhewed him but little reſpect, and the *Venetians* thought the like of the *Florentines*; for both one and the other being concerned in the war, they believed it civil and juſt, they ſhould at leaſt have been taken notice of in the peace. And no ſooner was their indignation reported and believed in *Florence*, but all men grew jealous that the making of this peace would produce a greater war; whereupon the Heads of the States thought to limit the Government, and that important affairs ſhould be managed by leſſer numbers: to which end they conſtituted a Council of LXX Citizens, to whom they gave ample authority to determine matters of the higheſt concern. This new Council ſtopt the proceedings of thoſe ſought after novelties, and to gain themſelves reputation, they in the firſt place allowed the peace made by *Lorenzo* with the King, they deſigned likewiſe *Meſſer Antonio Ridolfi*, and *Peter Naſi*, Ambaſſadors to the Pope. Nevertheleſs notwithſtanding this peace *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Calabria* departed not with his Army from *Siena*, pretending he was ſtaid there by the diſcords between thoſe Citizens, which were ſo high that whereas before he was lodged without the City, they called him in, and made him Umpire of their differences; which opportunity the Duke lay-

ing hold off, fined many Citizens in large ſums of money, many he impriſoned, others he baniſhed, and ſome he put to death: by which proceedings he raiſed a ſuſpicion, not only in the *Saneſi*, but in the *Florentines* likewiſe, that he deſigned to make himſelf Prince of that City. Nor knew they which way to remedy it, finding their City but raw in the Kings friendſhip, and at enmity with the Pope and *Venetians*, which ſuſpicion appeared not only in the generality of the people, (thoſe ſubtle interpreters of all things) but in the heads of the *Florentine* State, and every one affirmed that the City was never in more danger of looſing its liberty. But God who in all extremities ever had a particular care of it, ſent an unhoped for accident, which employed the thoughts, both of the King, Pope and *Venetians*, upon higher concerns than the affairs of *Tuſcany*.

Mahomet repulſed at Rhodes.

Mahomet the great Turk had with a mighty Army invaded *Rhodes*, and for many months cloſely beſieged that Town, and though his Forces were great, his obſtinacy and fury greater; yet he found the courage of the defendants greateſt of all, who with ſo much valour defended themſelves againſt his numerous aſſaults, that *Mahomet* was forced to raiſe his ſiege with diſgrace. Leaving therefore *Rhodes*, part of his *Armado*, under *Achomet Baſſa*, coming towards *Velona*, whether tempted by the facility of the enterprize, or ſo commanded by his Lord, he on a ſudden Lands ſix thou-

Achomet Baſſa's lands in Italy.

thouſand men, and ſtorming the City of *Otranto*, takes and ſacks it, putting all the inhabitants to the ſword. And then in the beſt manner he could fortifying himſelf in the City, and haven, and ſending for a ſtrong party of horſe, makes inroades farher, ſpoiling and waſting all the adjacent Country. The King having notice of this invaſion, and knowing well how great a Prince had undertaken it, diſpatches away his Envoys to all places to demand aſſiſtance againſt the common enemy, and with great inſtance recalls the Duke of *Calabria* with his forces from *Siena*. This aſſault though it afflicted the Duke and all the reſt of *Italy*, yet gave ſome comfort to *Florence* and *Siena*; theſe thinking they had regained their liberty, and thoſe to have eſcaped the dangers, made them fear the loſs of it; which increaſed the Dukes grief at his departure from *Siena*, who is ſaid to have blamed fortune, that by ſo unexpected and irrational an accident had rob'd him of the Empire of *Tuſcany*. This accident likewiſe made the Pope change his Counſels, and whereas before he would hearken to no *Florentine* Ambaſſador; he was now grown ſo mild, that he willingly liſtned to any thing propoſed tending to an univerſal peace. Whereupon the *Florentines* were advertiſed, that whenever they were inclined to ask pardon of the Pope that they might have it granted; and they who thought not fit to let ſlip the occaſion, ſent

twelve Ambaſſadors to his Holineſs, who after they arrived at *Rome*, were entertained with ſeveral debates and delays before they could get audience. At laſt all things were concluded between all parties, how they were to govern themſelves for the future, and how much in peace and war they were to contribute. Then were the Ambaſſadors admitted to kiſs the Popes feet, who attended them, ſeated in the midſt of his Cardinals in great pomp and ſtate. "They excuſed themſelves for what "was paſt, ſometimes laying the blame upon neceſſity, and the malignity of others, "ſometimes upon the peoples fury, and "their juſt anger, lamenting their condition, as men conſtrain'd to fight or dye: "for that they had undergone the war, the "excommunication, and all thoſe inconveniencies that attended them only to preſerve their City from ſlavery, which is a "civil death. Notwithſtanding (though "they had only done what they were forced to) yet if they had committed any fault, "they were ready to make amends, throwing "themſelves upon his mercy and clemency; "hoping, after the Example of the great "Redeemer, he would be ready to receive "them into the arms of his compaſſion. To all which ſubmiſſion the Pope in terms full of pride and indignation returned anſwer. "Reproaching them with all they "had in times paſt done againſt the Church, "however in obſervance to Gods com-

The *Florentine* Ambaſſadors admitted Audience by the Pope.

The Popes anſwer to the Ambaſſadors

"mands,

" mands, he was content to grant them that
" pardon they desired, but they were to
" understand then, they ought likewise to
" obey; and when ever they forfeited that
" obedience, that liberty they had so lately
" hazarded, should then be quite taken a-
" way, and that justly; for they only de-
" serve to be free that are good, not they
" who employ themselves in wicked ex-
" ercises; liberty abused, being destructive
" to it self and others, and to have a light
" esteem of God, and a less of his Church,
" was not the part of a Free-man, but of
" a dissolute person whose inclination was
" bent rather to mischief than goodness,
" whom it is not only a Princes duty to
" correct, but every Christians; wherefore
" for what was past they must blame them,
" who by ill actions gave being to the War,
" and by worse nourished it, and if they
" were now freed from it, it was more by
" the goodness of others, than their de-
" sert. Then the Articles of peace, and the benediction was read, to which the Pope added beyond what had been agreed on and signed, that if the *Florentines* would enjoy the fruit of that benediction, they must maintain fifteen armed Gallies at their proper expence while the *Turks* made War in the Kingdom. The Ambassadors made heavy complaints against so great a burthen imposed beyond the agreement, but by no favour to others, or address made by themselves, could they get any alleviation of it,

it, but to ratifie this peace, the Senate ſent Ambaſſador *Meſſer Guido Antonio Veſpucci*, ſometimes before returned from *France*; who by his prudent management brought things to terms more ſupportable, and obtained many favours of the Pope, as a teſtimony of his full reconciliation. The *Florentines* having thus ſetled their affairs with the Pope, and *Siena* remaining free, and they out of fear of the King by the withdrawing of the Duke of *Calabria's* Army out of *Tuſcany* to purſue the war againſt the *Turks*, they preſſed the King very hard to reſtore thoſe Caſtles of theirs, which the Duke of *Calabria* at his departure had left in the hands of the *Saneſi*, which the King conſented to out of fear, leſt otherwiſe the *Florentines* ſhould in this neceſſity deſert him, or elſe by commencing a new War with the *Saneſi* hinder him from thoſe aids which he hoped to have from the Pope and other Princes of *Italy*; and ſo by a freſh obligation he engaged, the *Florentine* to him whereby it appears, that neceſſity and neither Articles nor Oaths make Princes honeſt. Theſe Caſtles reſtored, and this new confederacy ratified *Lorenzo de Medici* regained all that reputation, which both during the war, and by the peace (whilſt it hung doubtful) he had like to have loſt; for in thoſe times ſome men ſtuck not to ſcandaliſe him publickly, by ſaying that to ſave himſelf he had ſould his Country, and that in the War they had loſt their

Twons,

Towns, and by the peace ſhould looſe their liberty; but thoſe Towns reſtored, an honourable peace confirmed with the King, and the City returned to its former ſplendor now throughout all *Florence* (a tattling City, and apt to cenſure things by their ſucceſs, and not by their Counſel) the ſtory was quite changed, for now *Lorenzo* was exalted to the skies, and all the diſcourſe was, how that by his prudence he had regained what the ill fortune of War had made them loſe; and that his counſel and judgement was more prevalent than the power and arms of the Enemy. The invaſion of the *Turks* had deferr'd that war, which the Pope and *Venetians* anger was yet to bring forth; but as the beginning of that aſſault was unhoped for, and the cauſe of much good, ſo the end was unlooked for, and the occaſion of much miſchief, for *Mahomet* the great *Turk*, when it was leaſt expected dying, and diſcord happening between his Children, thoſe *Turks* in *Puglia* ſeeing themſelves abandoned by their Lord upon Articles ſurrendred *Otranto* to the King. So the fear being removed, which kept the Pope and *Venetians* minds fixed, every man was apprehenſive of new irruptions. On one ſide were in League the Pope and *Venetians*, and joyned with them were the *Genoueſe*, *Saneſi*, and other leſſer Princes: On the other ſide were the *Florentines* King and Duke to whom adhered the *Boloneſi*, and many other Lords. The

Otranto ſurrendred by the Turks.

Venetians

Venetians had a great deſire to become Lords of *Ferrara*, and they though they had a reaſonable pretence to attempt it, and certain hope to accompliſh it: The occaſion they took was becauſe the *Marquis* affirmed he was no longer obliged to receive the Viſdomine * and their ſalt, for that the contract was, that after ſeventy years the City ſhould be releaſed of both thoſe burthens; to which the *Venetians* made anſwer, That as long as he held the *Poleſine*, ſo long he was to receive the Viſdomine and the Salt; to which the Marquis refuſing to yield, the *Venetians* thought they had juſt cauſe of a war, and a fit ſeaſon to begin it in, ſeeing the Pope incenſed againſt the King and *Florentines*, whom to ingratiate themſelves the more with, Count *Girolamo* at his being at *Venice*, was by them very honourably received, and made a Gentleman of their City, which is accounted a great honour where-ever they beſtow it. In order to preparing for this war, they had impoſed a new ſubſidy, and choſen the Lord *Robert* of *San Severino* their General, who offended with *Lewis* Governour of *Milan* had fled to *Tortona*, and thence (having firſt raiſed ſome Tumults) proceeded to *Genoua*, where now reſiding he was invited by the *Venetians* to accept of the command of their Armies. Theſe preparations to new combuſtions being obſerved by the adverſe League, made them alſo provide for War, and the Duke of *Milan*

* Viſdomine, or the Deputies of that Republick.

Proviſions for War in *Italy* by the two Leagues.

Milan choſe *Frederick* Earl of *Urbin* for his General, and the *Florentines Conſtance* Lord of *Peſaro* for theirs. And to ſound the Popes inclination, and ſatisfie themſelves whether the *Venetians* made war upon *Ferrara* by his conſent, King *Ferdinand* ſent *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria* to the *Tronto*, to demand the Popes lieve to paſs into *Lombardy* to aid the Marquis, which was by the Pope utterly denyed. Whereby the King and the *Florentines* underſtanding his mind, reſolved to ſtraiten him with their Forces, and conſtrain him to become their friend; or at leaſt prevent him from giving the *Venetians* any aſſiſtance; for theſe were already in the field, and had begun the war with the Marquis, having firſt waſted the Country, and then laid ſiege to *Figarola*, a Caſtle of great importance. The King and the *Florentines* having thus reſolved upon a war with the Pope, *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria* made incurſions towards *Rome*, and by the aſſiſtance of the *Colonneſi* (who were joyned with him as the *Orſini* were with the Pope) made great ſpoil in the Country. And on the other ſide the *Florentines* with *Nicholas Vitelli* aſſaulted the City of *Caſtello*, driving thence *Meſſer Lorenzo*, who held it for the Pope, and making *Nicholas* Prince of it, the Pope, though in theſe great perplexities: The City of *Rome* in diſorder within, and the Country waſted without; yet like a ſtout man, who would overcome and not yield

to

to his enemies, entertained the Magnificent *Robert* of *Rimini* for his General, and he being come to *Rome*, where all the Church forces were drawn together: the Pope declared to him how much it would redound to his Honour, if by oppoſing the Kings Forces he could deliver the Church from the troubles it was involved in, which would be an obligation, not only binding to him, but to all his ſucceſſors; nay, not only to men, but to God himſelf: The Magnificent *Robert* of *Rimini* having firſt taken a view of all the Popes men at Arms, and other warlike furniture, adviſed him to raiſe as many Foot as he could, which with all ſpeed and diligence was put in execution. The Duke of *Calabria* lay then ſo near *Rome*, that every day he made incurſions to the very Gates of the City, which ſo incenſed the Roman people, that they willingly offered themſelves to ſerve under *Robert* for the delivery of the City, and were all by him received with thanks and praiſe. The Duke hearing of theſe great preparations, drew a little farther off, thinking the Lord of *Rimini* would not venture too far to find him out, and beſides he expected his Brother *Frederick* with new recruits from his Father. *Robert* ſeeing his men at Arms near equalled the Dukes, and that in foot he was much ſuperiour, marches upon a ſudden out of *Rome*, and pitches his Camp within two miles of the Enemy; the Duke ſeeing the enemy on the back of him ſo

con-

contrary to his expectation, found there was no other way now but to fight or flee. And that he might not do any thing unworthy the ſon of a King, reſolving to fight, he faces the enemy; and both Armies being put into ſuch order, as in thoſe times was uſual, advanced to the Battail, which laſted from morning till noon. This day there was more valour ſhowed than had been in any encounter for fifty years paſt in *Italy*, for on both ſides, there was above a thouſand men ſlain, and the iſſue was glorious for the Church, for the multitudes of the Popes foot did ſo gall the Dukes horſe, that they were forced to give ground, and the Duke himſelf had been taken priſoner, had he not been ſaved by thoſe *Turks*, who being left at *Otranto* ſerved now under him. The Magnificent *Robert* having gained this Victory, returned in triumph to *Rome*, but he enjoyed it but a ſhort time, for having in the heat of the Battail drunk too much water, it put him into a flux, of which in few days he dyed, whoſe body was by the Pope interred with all extraordinary circumſtances of honour. The Pope having obtained this Victory, immediately diſpatches away the Earl towards the City of *Caſtello*, to endeavour the reſtauration of that City to *Lorenzo*, and partly indeed to try the City of *Rimini*; for *Robert* his late General having left behind him only a young Infant under the tuition of his Mother; the Pope thought it an eaſie

The Kings Forces defeated by the Popes.

Death of *Robert de Rimini* the Popes General.

eaſie matter to ſnatch his inheritance from him, which he had certainly done, had not the *Florentines* defended the Lady, and in ſuch manner oppoſed his forces, that he could do no good, neither againſt *Rimini*, nor *Caſtello*. Whilſt theſe troubles were at *Rome*, and in *Romagnia*, the *Venetians* having taken *Figorola*, and with their forces paſſed the *Po*; and the Duke of *Milan*, and the Marquis his Camp were both in diſorder: For *Frederick* Lord of *Urbin* falling ſick, cauſed himſelf to be carryed to *Bolonia*, where he dyed: So that the Marquis his affairs every day declined, and the *Venetians* hourly encreaſed their hopes of gaining *Ferrara*. On the other ſide, the King and *Florentines* uſed all their endeavours to gain the Pope to their will, and ſince they could not do it by force, they threatned him with a general Council, which the Emperour had declared ſhould be held at *Baſil*. Whereupon by mediation of the Emperours Ambaſſadors, and interceſſion of the principal Cardinals who deſired peace, the Pope was partly forced, and partly perſwaded to conſider of peace, and the union of *Italy*: So that both for fear and out of conſideration, that the greatneſs of the *Venetians* was the ruine of the Church and of *Italy*, he conſented to agree with the League, and ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Naples*, where a League for five years was concluded between the King, Pope, Duke of *Milan*, and *Florentines*, reſerving a place for the

Death of *Frederick*, Lord of *Urbin*.

The Pope joyns with the League.

the *Venetians*, if they pleaſed to accept it; which perfected, the Pope ſignified to the *Venetians* that they ſhould deſiſt from the War with *Ferrara*. To which the *Venetians* refuſed to conſent, but with greater forces prepared for the War; and having defeated the Dukes and Marquis his forces at *Argenta*, were approached ſo near *Ferrara*, that they had pitcht their Camp in the Marquis his Park. Whereupon the League thought it not convenient any longer to delay giving more powerful aſſiſtance to that Lord, and to that end cauſed the Duke of *Calabria* with his and the Popes forces to march towards *Ferrara*, the *Florentines* ſent their Troops likewiſe; and the better to diſpenſe Orders of War, the League held a Council at *Cremona*, where aſſembled the Popes Legate, the Earl *Girolamo*, the Duke of *Calabria*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Milan*, and *Lorenzo de Medici*, with many other *Italian* Princes, where they ſettled the meaſures, and deviſed the Order of the future War. And becauſe they were of opinion that *Ferrara* could not be better relieved, than by making a gallant diverſion, they would have the Lord *Lewis* declare war againſt the *Venetians* in behalf of the Eſtates of the Duke of *Milan*, but that Lord would not give his conſent, fearing to bring a war upon his own head, he could not, when he pleaſed, get rid off; whereupon they reſolved to advance with their whole Army to *Ferrara*, and drawing

together four thouſand men at arms, and eight thouſand foot, they went to ſeek the *Venetians*, who had two thouſand and two hundred men at arms, and ſix thouſand foot. The League thought it convenient in the firſt place to aſſail the Fleet, which the *Venetians* had on the *Po*, which they did, giving the aſſault at *Bondeno*, to the deſtruction of two hundred Veſſels, where *Meſſer Antonio Juſtianiano*, Providitor General was taken priſoner. The *Venetians* ſeeing all *Italy* combined to ruine them, to add to their reputation, entertained the Duke of the *Rhene*, with two hundred men at arms into their ſervice; whom (now their Fleet was deſtroyed) they ſent with part of their Army to keep the enemy at a Bay, cauſing the Lord *Robert* of *San Severino* to paſs the *Adda*, with the remainder of the Army, and marching up to the Walls of *Milan*, proclaim the Duke and the Lady *Bona* his Mother: for they thought by this way to work ſome change in *Milan*, thinking the Lord *Lewis* and his Government were hated by the *Millaneſi*. This allarm occaſioned at firſt ſome diſorder, and made the City arm. But in the concluſion, produced an effect quite contrary to the *Venetian* deſign; for what the Lord *Lewis* would not before agree to, this affront makes him eager to perform: and therefore leaving the Marquis of *Ferrara* to defend himſelf with four thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot, the Duke of *Calabria* with twelve thouſand horſe,

horſe, and five thouſand foot entred *Bergamaſco*, and thence paſſed into the Country of *Breſciæ*; and ſo to *Verona*, ſpoiling, ruining and deſtroying the whole Country adjacent to thoſe three Cities, in the ſpite of the *Venetians*, who could no way help it; for the Lord *Robert* with all his forces could hardly ſave the Cities themſelves. On the other ſide, the Marquis of *Ferrara* had recovered many places, formerly his; for the Duke of the *Rhene*, who was left to attend him, durſt not oppoſe him, having but two thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foot: and thus all that Summer of the year 1483, the affairs of the league proſpered. In the following Spring (for the Winter was paſt without any action) both Armies drew into the Field, and the League that they might the better oppreſs the *Venetians*, had drawn all their Army together, and might (eaſily had the war been maintained as it was the year before) have driven the *Venetians* quite out of *Lombardy*; for they were reduced to ſix thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot (the Duke of *Rhene* his year expired being gone home) and the enemy had thirteen thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot: but as it often happens, where there are many Rivals in Authority, their piques and jealouſies give victory to the enemy; ſo *Frederick Gonzaga*, Marquis of *Mantoua* being dead, (who with his Authority kept the Duke of *Calabria*, and the Lord *Lewis* united) there

happened ſeveral differences between them, which created jealouſies and ſuſpicions; for *John Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan* being now at age to govern, and having married the Daughter of the Duke of *Calabria*, deſired that his father in Law, rather than *Lewis* might manage affairs of State. And *Lewis*, ſenſible of this his deſire, reſolved to deprive him of the power of executing it. This heart-burning of *Lewis*'s was known to the *Venetians*, who laid hold on the opportunity, judging they might, as always they had done, gain more by peace, than they had loſt by war: and privately treating with the Lord *Lewis*, came to an agreement *Auguſt* 1484. Which when the other confederates knew, they were much diſpleaſed; eſpecially when they perceived the *Venetians* were to have all the towns taken from them reſtored, and ſtill poſſeſs *Rovigo* and *Poliſene*, which they had taken from the Marquis of *Ferrara*; and beſides, enjoy all thoſe preheminencies they formerly did over that City; for every one was now ſenſible they had begun a war with vaſt expence, and in the proſecution of it had gained honour, but in the end ſhame; ſince they were to reſtore the towns taken, and had not recovered thoſe loſt; but the Colleagues were conſtrained to accept it, both becauſe they were weary of the expence, and becauſe they would no farther try their fortune with deceitful and ambitious men. Whileſt affairs were in this poſture

Lewis Sforza concludes a private peace with the *Veneti-*

poſture in *Lombardy*, the Pope by his Forces commanded by *Meſſer Lorenzo*, beſieged the City of *Caſtello*, to drive thence *Nicholas Vitelli*, whom the League to bring the Pope to a compliance had deſerted; whilſt he lay before the town, the Garriſon which kept it for *Nicholas*, made a ſally and quite routed the enemy; whereupon the Pope recalled Earl *Girolamo* from *Lombardy* to *Rome*, to recruit his Forces, and renew the ſiege; but upon maturer deliberation, thinking it better to gain Mr. *Nicholas* by peace, than again provoke him by war, he made the beſt agreement he could for himſelf, and reconciliation between *Nicholas* and his adverſary *Lorenzo*, to which fear of new tumults, and not love of peace diſpoſed him; for he ſaw ill humours growing to a head between the *Colonneſi* and *Orſini*. The King of *Naples* had taken from the *Orſini* in the war between him and the Pope the County of *Tagliacazzo*, and given it to the *Colonneſi* who adhered to him: afterwards peace being made between the Pope and King, the *Orſini* by virtue of the Articles demanded it; the Pope often ſignified to the *Colonneſi*, that they ſhould reſtore it, but they would not condeſcend to a reſtoration, either at the *Orſini's* demand, or the Popes threatning; but invaded the *Orſini* afreſh with depredations, and other like injuries; which the Pope no longer able to ſuffer, raiſed all his Forces, and joined them with the *Orſini* to reduce them, and thoſe houſes

they had in *Rome* ſack'd, killing or taking thoſe that ſtrove to defend them, and ſeizing moſt of their Towns and Caſtles; ſo that on one ſide theſe tumults ended, not by deſire of peace, but by reaſon of their being too heavily oppreſſed and afflicted. Things were not yet quiet in *Genoua* and *Tuſcany*, for the *Florentines* kept the Earl *Antonio de Marciano*, with his Forces on the Frontiers of *Serezana*; and whilſt the war was in *Lombardy*, with incurſions and other light skirmiſhes moleſted the *Serezaneſi*; and in *Genoua Battiſtino Fregoſo Doge* of that City, truſting in *Paul Fregoſo* Archbiſhop, was with his wife and family taken by him, who made himſelf Prince; likewiſe the *Venetians* invaded the Kingdom by Sea, took *Gallipoli*, and infeſted the adjacent Country; but peace made in *Lombardy*, all war ceaſed, ſave the tumults in *Tuſcany* and *Rome*; for five days after the peace made, the Pope dyed, whether his natural term of life were expired, or whether grief for the peace, to which he was a profeſt enemy, broke his heart. However that Pope left *Italy* in peace, which all his life time he had kept in war. No ſooner was he dead, but all *Rome* was in arms, the Earl *Girolamo* retired with his men into the Caſtle, and the *Orſini* were fearful leaſt the *Colonneſi* ſhould revenge their late injuries; the *Colonneſi* demanded reſtitution of their Houſes and Caſtles; whereupon in few days ſucceeded Slaughter, Robberies and Burnings in many

The Archbiſhop of *Genoua* makes himſelf Prince.

The Pope dyes.

ny places of the City; but the Cardinals having perſwaded the Earl to reſtore the Caſtle into the hands of the Conclave, and to retire into his own eſtates, and remove his Forces from *Rome*, he, to gratifie the Pope that ſhould next ſucceed, obeyed, and ſurrendring the Caſtle to the Conclave, went to *Imola*; whereby the Cardinals delivered from this fear, and the Barons from the hopes they had of his aſſiſtance in their differences, they proceeded to the election of a new Pope, and after much diſpute choſe *John Battiſta Cibo* Cardinal of *Malfetta* a *Genoueſe*, who called himſelf *Innocent* the Eighth, who by fair and gentle means (for he was a kind and quiet man) made all parties lay down Arms, and for a while pacified *Rome*. The *Florentines* after the peace of *Lombardy* could not be quiet, eſteeming it a baſe and ſhameful thing that a private Gentleman ſhould take from them the Caſtle of *Serezana*; and becauſe by the Articles of peace, they were not only to demand things loſt, but by force conſtrain thoſe impeded or denyed their reſtoration, they preſently leavied men and money to regain that Caſtle; whereupon *Auguſtine Fregoſo*, ſuppoſing with his private power he ſhould not be able to defend it, gave that town to S. *George*: but becauſe S. *George* of *Genoua* has often been mentioned, I think it not amiſs to ſhew the orders and rules of that City, being one of the principal of *Italy*. When the *Genoueſi* had made

Pope *Innocent* the Eighth.

The original of S. George of *Genoua*.

peace with the *Venetians* after that important war, which long ſince happened between them, the City not able to ſatisfie thoſe vaſt ſums of money they had borrowed from ſeveral Citizens, conſigned to them the receits of the Cuſtoms, that according to their ſeveral ſums lent, they might divide that Revenue amongſt them, till they were fully ſatisfied, and that they might meet together, they aſſigned them the Palace over the Cuſtom-houſe. Theſe Creditors ſettled a rule and order among themſelves, making a Council of a hundred of them, who were to debate all publick matters, and a Magiſtracy of eight, who as heads were to execute; and their Credits they divided into parts, which they called *Luoghi* or ſhares, and their whole body they entituled S. *George*. Their Government thus ordered, it happened that the City in general again ſtood in need; whereupon they had recourſe to S. *George*, which being rich, and their ſtock well managed could ſupply them, and the Commonalty as they had at firſt granted the Cuſtom, began now in pawn of the money to grant their lands; and ſo far proceeded it by reaſon of the common neceſſities, and the ſupplies of S. *George*, that that order had moſt of the Towns and Lands formerly ſubject to the *Genoueſe* ſubmitted to them; and they governed and defended them; and every year by publick vote ſent their *Rectors*, and the Commonalty of the City

was

was no way concerned. Whence it comes that thoſe Citizens have taken away their love to the rules of the Commonalty as a thing uſurped, and tyrannized, and placed it on S. *George*, as a rule well and equally adminiſtred; whence arrives the frequent and eaſie change of Government, and that ſometimes they obey a Citizen, ſometimes a ſtranger; for not S. *George*, but the Commonalty changes Government: wherefore when the *Fregoſi* and *Adorni* contended for the principality, becauſe they fought for the Government in common, the greateſt part of the City ſtood neutral, & left it a prey to the Conquerour: all the office of S. *George* does, is, when any one has gained the Government, to make him ſwear obſervation of their Laws, which from the firſt inſtitution till now, were never altered; for having the Arms, Money and Government in their poſſeſſion, they cannot without certain danger of a Rebellion be altered; an example indeed rare, and which Philoſophers with all their imaginations and chimera's of Common-wealths never found out to hold within the ſame circle, and among the ſame number of Citizens, Liberty and Tyranny, civil Order and Corruption, Juſtice and Licentiouſneſs; for that order alone maintains the City in its ancient and venerable cuſtoms. And if it happens, as in time certainly it will, that S. *George* is poſſeſſed of the whole City, that Republick will be more memorable than the

the *Venetian*. To this order of S. *George*, *Auguſtine Fregoſo* gave the City of *Serezana*, who willingly received it, and undertaking its defence, preſently fitted out a Fleet to Sea, and ſent a Garriſon to *Pietra Sancta*, to hinder any paſſage to the *Florentine* Camp, which already lay near *Serezana*: the *Florentines* on the other ſide were deſirous to have *Pietra Sancta*; for whilſt that Town was out of their poſſeſſion, the gaining of *Serezana* would not be ſo advantagious, *Pietra Sancta* being placed between that and *Piſa*, but they could not reaſonbly lay ſiegé to it, unleſs firſt they were by thoſe of *Pietra Sancta* impeached in the reducing *Serezana*: and that this might happen, they ſent from *Piſa* to the Camp great ſtores of Proviſion and Ammunition with a very weak convoy, that the greatneſs of the prey, and ſlenderneſs of the Guard, might make thoſe of *Pietra Sancta* leſs fearful to ſeiſe it; the plot ſucceeded to their wiſh, for thoſe in *Pietra Sancta* ſeeing before their eyes ſo great a prize, took it, and gave the *Florentines* the occaſion they deſired to aſſault them; wherefore leaving *Serezana* they beſieged *Pietra Sancta* which was well manned and bravely defended: the *Florentines* having their Artillery at firſt on the plain, raiſed after a Bulwark on the hill, hoping from thence to batter them; *James Guiccardine* was now Commiſſary of the Army, and whilſt he beſieged *Pietra Sancta*, the *Genoueſe* Fleet took and burnt

War between *Florence* and *Genoua*.

Pietra Sancta beſieged.

the

the Fortreſs of *Vada*, and landing ſome of their men, robbed and ſpoiled the Country; againſt whom with a party of Horſe and Foot *Meſſer Buongianni Gianfigliazzi* was ſent, who in part checked their pride, that they could not ſo freely forrage. But the *Genoueſe* Navy continuing to moleſt the *Florentines* went to *Leghorne*, and with great broad bridges and other Engines approached the new Tower, which for many days they battered with their Artillery, but ſeeing they could do no good, went away with ſhame. In the mean time they purſued the ſiege at *Pietra Sancta* ſo coldly, that the beſieged taking heart, ſtormed their Bulwark, and took it, ſo much to their own reputation, and terror of the *Florentine* Army, that they were ready to disband of themſelves; inſomuch that being drawn four miles off from the Town, the chief Commanders ſeeing it was already *October*, thought it beſt to draw the Army into winter Quarters, and defer the ſiege till Spring. When this diſorder was heard at *Florence*, the heads of the State were filled with indignation & preſently (to reſtore the Camp to its credit and power,) choſe for new Commiſſaries *Antonio Pucci* and *Bernardo del Nero*, who with a great ſum of money went to the Camp, and declared to the Captains the anger of the whole Senate, the Magiſtrates and City, and how much more they would be incenſed, if they returned not to the

the walls of the Town, and what an infamy it would be to them, that ſo many Captains, and ſo great an Army having no more but a ſmall Garriſon to withſtand them, could not take ſo poor and pitiful a town; they ſet forth likewiſe the preſent advantage, and what in the future they might hope from the taking of it: with theſe perſwaſions they heartned them to return to the walls, and firſt of all reſolved to ſtorm the Bulwark. In the gaining of which, it was obſervable how much courteſie, affability, kind and obliging words will work upon Soldiers, for *Antonio Pucci* by encouraging one, promiſing another, and embracing a third, made them with ſuch fury ſtorm the Bulwark, that in a moment they took it; yet was it not got without loſs, for Count *Antonio Marciano* was ſlain with a piece of Artillery. However this victory ſtruck ſuch a terror into thoſe of the town, that they began to treat of a ſurrender; whereupon, that the matter might be concluded with more reputation, *Lorenzo de Medici* came to the Camp, not many days after whoſe arrival, the Caſtle was gained. 'Twas now Winter, and therefore the Commanders of the Army thought not fit to proceed farther, but retire to Quarters, till Spring, eſpecially ſince that Autumns unwholſome air had much waſted the Army, many of the Captains being grievouſly ſick, among whom *Antonio Pucci* and *Bongianni*

Pietra Santa taken.

Iuongianni Gianſigliazzi not only ſickened, but dyed, to the great grief of all men; ſo much love had *Antonio Pucci* gained by his carriage at *Pietra Santa*. The *Luccheſi*, now the *Florentines* had taken *Pietra Santa*, ſent their Ambaſſadours to *Florence*, to demand it as a Town formerly belonging to their State; for they alleadged by the Articles of the late peace, they were obliged to reſtore to their firſt Lord all thoſe Towns were recovered of another. The *Florentines* did not deny the Article, but anſwered that in the treaty of peace between them and the *Genoueſe*, they did not know, but they muſt be bound to reſtore it to them, and therefore, till then could determine nothing, and if they were to reſtore it, yet the *Luccheſi* would do well to conſider how to ſatisfie the charge they had been at, and the damage they had ſuſtained by the death of ſo many of their Citizens; and when that was done they might be in ſome hopes of the Town. All this Winter was ſpent in a treaty of peace between the *Florentines* and *Genoueſi*, which the Pope had ſet on foot, but nothing being concluded, the *Florentines* had in the Spring beſieged *Serezana*, had not the ſickneſs of *Lorenzo de Medici*, and the war between the Pope and King *Ferdinand* hindred them: for not only the Gout which he had hereditary from his father afflicted *Lorenzo*, but he was tormented with violent pains in the ſtomach, ſo that he was forced

forced to go to the waters for a cure. But the moſt important hindrance was the war, of which this was the original cauſe. The City of *Aquila* was in ſuch a degree ſubject to the King of *Naples*, that they in a manner lived free; the Earl of *Montorio* was in great reputation there. The Duke of *Calabria* being with his men at Arms near the *Tronto*, under pretence of quieting ſome tumults, raiſed among the Country-people, and deſigning to reduce *Aquila* under the Kings abſolute obedience, ſent for the Earl of *Montorio*, as though he would employ him about what he had then in hand. The Earl without any ſuſpicion obeyed and came, and was immediately by the Duke made priſoner, and ſent to *Naples*. This was no ſooner heard at *Aquila*, but the whole City was incenſed at it, and tumultuouſly ſlew *Antonio Concinello* the King's Commiſſary, and with him ſeveral other Citizens, known favourers of the Kings; and that the *Aquilani* might have a defender in their Rebellion, they ſet up the banners of the Church, and ſent Ambaſſadours to the Pope, to give him their City and themſelves, entreating him as his own to defend them againſt the Kings tyranny. The Pope gladly and reſolutely undertook their defence, for both upon publick and private acccounts he hated the King: and Lord *Robert* of *San Severino* enemy to the State of *Milan* being out of pay, he choſe him his General, and ſent

Aquila rebels from the King of *Naples*.

for

for him in all haſte to *Rome*, and beſides ſollicited all Count *Montorio*'s friends and relations to rebel againſt the King, ſo that the Princes of *Altemura Salerno* and *Biſguano* took Arms. The King ſeeing himſelf aſſaulted with ſo ſudden a war, ſends for aid to the Duke and *Florentines*: the *Florentines* ſtood in doubt what to do, for they thought it hard to leave off their own affairs to follow others, and again to take up Arms againſt the Church, they thought dangerous, yet being in a League they valued their word and faith above intereſt or danger, and therefore entertained the *Orſini* in their pay, and beſides ſent the Earl of *Pitigliana* with all their Forces towards *Rome* to aſſiſt the King: wherefore the King raiſed two Armies, one under the Duke of *Calabria*, which he ſent towards *Rome*, who joining with the *Florentine* Forces were to oppoſe the Church, and with the other under his Command, he marched towards his Barons; in both places the accidents of war were various, but in the concluſion the King remaining victor in all parts; in *Auguſt* 1486 by mediation of the Ambaſſadours of *Spain*, a peace was concluded; to which the Pope (who would no longer encounter his adverſe fortune) conſented: by this peace all the potentates of *Italy* were united, except the *Genoueſe* who were left out as Rebels againſt the State of *Milan*, and uſurpers of the *Florentine* towns. The Lord *Robert* of *San Severino*

rino, when this peace was concluded (having been, during the War, a faithleſs friend to the Pope, and to the others no formidable enemy) driven away by the Pope, marching from *Rome*, and being purſued by the Dukes and *Florentine* Forces; ſeeing himſelf, as he was paſſed *Ceſena*, overtaken, fled, and with fewer than one hundred horſe recovered *Bolonia*, and of his other forces part were received by the Duke, and the remainder routed and plundered by the Country. The King having concluded the peace, and reconciled himſelf with the Barons, put to death *John Coppola*, and *Antonella* of *Anverſa* with his ſons, for having, during the war, kept intelligence with the Pope. The Pope by this war had learned how punctual and diligent the *Florentines* were in obſerving their word, and preſerving their friendſhip; inſomuch, that whereas before he hated them, he now began to love them; and to confer greater favours on them, and more kindly treat their Ambaſſadors then uſually he had done, which inclination once known to *Lorenzo Medici*, was by all poſſible induſtry encouraged, for he thought it would be much for his reputation, if to the Kings friendſhip he could add that of the Pope. The Pope had one ſon called *Francis*, and being deſirous to honour him with Eſtates and Friends, that he might after his death maintain himſelf, he could not pitch upon any in *Italy*, with whom he might more

ſafely

ſafely make an alliance than *Lorenzo de Medici*, wherefore he contrived that *Lorenzo* gave him one of his daughters to wife. The Pope was deſirous that the *Genoueſe* ſhould peaceably ſurrender *Serezana* to the *Florentines*, telling them they could pretend no right to keep it by *Auguſtine*'s ſale, nor could *Auguſtine* give St. *George* what was none of his own: but however he could do no good of it; for the *Genoueſe*, (whilſt theſe things were in treaty in *Rome*) armed many of their Veſſels; and whilſt at *Florence* they thought nothing of it, ſet a ſhore three thouſand foot, and aſſaulted the Caſtle of *Serazenella*, ſeated above *Serezana*, & in the *Florentines* poſſeſſion, and took and plundered and burnt the Borrough adjoyning, and afterwards planting their Artillery againſt the Caſtle, battered it with great fury. This attempt was ſtrange and unlookt for by the *Florentines*, whereupon they preſently rallied their Forces under *Virginio Orſini* at *Piſa*, and made their complaints to the Pope, that during the treaty of peace, the *Genoueſe* had acted theſe Hoſtilities. Then they ſent *Peter Corſini* to *Lucca* to keep that City faithful, and *Paul Antonio Soderini* they ſent to to *Venice*, to ſound the minds of that Republick; they likewiſe required, aid from the King and Lord *Lewis*, but had none from either: For the King excuſed himſelf that he ſtood in fear of the Turks Fleet, and *Lewis* with tricks and cavils delayed them. Thus the *Florentines* were for the

moſt part left alone in all their wars, not finding others ſo ready to aſſiſt them, as they were to give aid to their Friends. Nor were they now (for 'twas no new thing) diſmayed, becauſe their friends failed them: but raiſing a great army under *James Guiccardine*, and *Peter Vettori* ſent them againſt the enemy, who encamped upon the River *Magra*. Mean while the *Genoueſe* ſtreightly beſieged *Serazenello*, and by undermining, and all other ways endeavoured to gain it, wherefore the Commiſſaries reſolving to relieve it, the enemies refuſed not the Battail, but in the ingagement the *Genoueſe* were routed, and *Lodovick* of *Freſco*, & many other Commanders taken priſoners: yet this Victory did not ſo terrifie the *Serezaneſi*, that they would yield but obſtinately prepared for their defence and the Comiſſaries to offend, ſo that it was bravely aſſaulted and defended: but the ſiege continuing long, *Lorenzo de Medici* reſolved to go to the Camp, where his arrival ſo encouraged our Soldiers, & diſheartned the *Serazeneſi*, that ſeeing the reſolution of the *Florentines* in aſſailing them, and the coldneſs of the *Genoueſe* to relieve them, they freely without any conditions ſurrendred themſelves to *Lorenzo*, and were by the *Florentines*, except ſome few heads of the rebellion, kindly received and treated. During this ſiege the Lord *Lewis* had ſent ſome forces to *Pontremoli* to make ſhow of aſſiſting us; but having private intelligence in *Genoua*, he cauſed an inſurrection to be made againſt the government,

Serezana taken,

And *Genoua* reduced under the Duke.

and

and by the help of his party, reduced it under the Dutchy of *Milan*. In these times there happen'd war between the *Germans* and *Venetians*, and in *La Marca Boccalino* of *Osimo* had made that Town rebel against the Pope, and usurped the tyranny; but after many accidents he was content by the perswasion of *Lorenzo de Medici*, to restore that Town to the Pope, and coming to *Florence* under *Lorenzo*'s protection lived a long time honourably, but afterwards going to *Milan*, found not the same faith, for he was by Lord *Lewis* put to death. The *Venetians* were by the *Germans* defeated near the City of *Trent*, and the Lord *Robert* of *San Severino* their General slain. After many losses the *Venetians* with their usual fortune made a peace with the *Germans*, not as people overcome, but as if they had been conquerours, so honourable was it on their side. About these times likewise happened two considerable Tumults in *Romania*. *Francis d' Orso* was a man of great authority in the City of *Furli*, of whom Count *Girolamo* growing jealous, had often threatned him. Whereupon *Francis* living in great fear, was advised by his friends and relations to provide for his own safety, and since he was threatned, to kill first, and by the death of the Earl free himself from danger. Having consulted hereupon, and firmly resolved it, he made choice of his time on a market-day at *Furli*, for on that day many other of their friends coming thi-

ther out of the Country; they thought they might without a ſummons have them to ſerve their occaſions. It was in the month of *May*, and it being the *Italians* uſual cuſtom to ſup by day-light; the Conſpirators thought it the beſt time to kill him after ſupper, at which time, while his Family were at ſupper, he was often in a chamber alone: having agreed on this, *Francis* went at the appointed time, and leaving his Companions in the outward rooms went to the Earls Chamber, and bid one of the attendants tell him he was there to ſpeak with him. *Francis* was admitted, and after ſome feigned diſcourſe ſuddenly ſlew him, and calling in his companions killed likewiſe the Groom of his Chamber. The Governour of the Town coming by chance to ſpeak with the Earl, was by the Murderers with his few followers in the Hall ſlain. Theſe Murders committed, the Earls body was thrown out of the window, and Proclamation made The Church and liberty; and all the people gathered to arms (for they hated the Earls avarice and cruelty) and ſackt his houſe, and made priſoners the Counteſs *Catharine*, and her Children: there remained only the taking of the Caſtle to perfect their deſign, which the Governour refuſing to yield, they dealt with the Counteſs to diſpoſe him to it, which ſhe promiſed to do, if they would let her go in, leaving her Children in Hoſtage: The Conſpirators believed her, and let her

Earl *Girolamo* ſlain.

go

go in; but inſtead of delivering it, ſhe then threatned them with death, and all manner of torments in revenge of her husband; and they threatning to kill her children: ſhe told them ſhe had the mold about her to make more in. Whereat the Conſpirators daunted, ſeeing the Pope owned them not, and heard the Lord *Lewis*, Uncle to the Counteſs, was ſending forces to her relief, taking with them all the riches they could carry, they fled to the City of *Caſtello*. Whereupon the Counteſs recovering the State, with all imaginable cruelty revenged her husbands death. The *Florentines* hearing of the Earls death, took the opportunity to recover the Caſtle of *Piancaldoli*, which the Earl had formerly took from them; but now ſending their forces (with the death of *Ciecco*, the famous Architect,) they recovered it: Beſides this, there happened another Tumult in *Romania* of no leſs importance. *Galeotto*, Lord of *Faenza* had married the Daughter of *John Bentivogli*, Prince of *Bolonia*, ſhe either out of jealouſie, or becauſe ſhe was ill uſed by her husband, hated him to that degree, that ſhe reſolved to take from him both eſtate and life, and counterfeiting a ſickneſs, ſhe reſolved that *Galeotto*, coming to viſit her, ſhould be murdered by ſome of her confederates hid in the Chamber. She had communicated this deſign to her Father, who was in hopes after death of his ſon-in-law to become Lord of *Faenza*. The time

appointed for this murder being come *Galeotto* went into his wives Chamber according to his usual custom, and beginning to talk with her, the murderers came suddenly out of their holes, and before he could make any defence slew him. After his death the Tumult was great, the Lady with her young son, called *Astore*, fled to the Castle; the people took arms, and *Messer John Bentivoglio*, with one *Bergamino*, an Officer of the Duke of *Milans*, having before prepared a party, entred into *Faenza*, where was likewise *Antonio Boscoli*, the *Florentine* Commissary: All these principal men being assembled together, discoursing about the Government of the Town, the Inhabitants of the Vale of *Lamona*, who upon the uproar were tumultuously run thither, falling upon *Messer John* and *Bergamino*, slew the last, and took the first prisoner; and proclaiming the name of *Astorre*, and the *Florentines* recommended the City to their Commissary. Intelligence thereof being come to *Florence*, the accident displeased every one; yet they set at liberty *Messer John* and his Daughter, and undertook the care of *Astorre* and the City, by general consent of the people: Besides these (though the main wars among greater Princes were composed) there was every year some tumults in *Romania*, *La Marca* and *Siena*, which being of little importance, I count it superfluous to relate. It is true that in *Siena*, since the departure of the Duke of *Calabria*

Galeotto Lord of *Faenza* murdered.

from

from the war in 88. they were very frequent, and after many variations (for sometimes the Nobles, and sometimes the People governed) the Nobility remained Superiours, among whom those of greatest Authority were *Pandolpho* and *Jacob Petrucci*, one of whom by his prudence, and the other by his courage became as it were Princes of that City. But the *Florentines* after the war of *Serezana*, till the death of *Lorenzo de Medici*, 1492. lived in the height of all felicity; for *Lorenzo* seeing all Arms in *Italy* laid by, which by his Wisdom and Authority had been effected, applyed himself to make himself and his City great, marrying *Peter* his Eldest Son to *Alfonsina* Daughter of *Cavallier Orsini*: Then *John* his second Son he advanced to the degree of a Cardinal; so much the more notable, because beyond all former Examples he was not above thirteen years of age, when he was advanced to that high degree, which was a Ladder for his House, to ascend by, as afterwards happened. *Julian* his third Son being so very young at his Father's Death, he could not provide with any extraordinary Fortune: Of his Daughters, one was married to *James Salvati*, another to *Francis Cibo*, a third to *Peter Ridolfi*; but the fourth whom, to keep his House united, he would have married to *John de Medici*, died: In other his private affairs, especially as to Merchandize, he was unhappy, for the disorders of

Lorenzo de Medici, his advancement of his Children, and his other excellent Vertues.

thoſe he intruſted, who lived not like Factors but Princes, in many places waſted his Eſtate, ſo that his Country was fain to ſupply him with great ſums of money, wherefore reſolving no more to tempt Fortune, he forbore to trade, but as the more ſtable Riches, applied himſelf to purchaſe Lands, and in the *Prateſe*, *Piſano*, and the Vale of *Piſa* had large Poſſeſſions, with Palaces more becoming a Prince then a private Citizen. Then he addreſſed himſelf to beautifie and enlarge his City, and that he might live more quiet in the State, and fight with his Enemies at greater diſtance, towards *Bolonia*, in the middle of thoſe *Alpes* he fortified the Caſtle of *Firenzuola*. Towards *Siena*, he began to repair the Imperial Hill, and made it almoſt impregnable, and the way towards *Genoua* he had blocked up by taking *Pietra Sancta* and *Serezana*. Then with Penſions and Allowances he maintained himſelf Friends abroad; the *Baglioni* in *Perugia*, the *Vitelli* in the City of *Caſtello*, and had himſelf the particular Government of *Faenza*, all which were ſtrong Bulwarks to his City. And in theſe peaceable Times he was continually diverting the City with Feaſts and Triumphs, exhibiting Juſts and Tournaments, and ſeveral Repreſentations of Ancient Actions, his cheif end in which was to make the City populous, keep theſe people united, and make the Nobility be honoured. He was an extream lover of any man excellent in any

Art,

Art, of which *Agnola* of *Montepulciano*, *Chriſtopher Landini*, and *Demetrius Greco* may give ample Teſtimony. Beſides Earl *John* of *Mirandula*, a Man almoſt Divine, leaving all other Parts of *Europe* which he had travelled through, moved by the Magnificence of *Lorenzo*, choſe his reſidence in *Florence*. He was exceedingly delighted in Architecture, Muſick, and Poetry; many Poetical compoſitions being extant, not only of his compoſure, but which he had commented upon: And to encourage the Youth of *Florence* to the ſtudy of Learning, he erected an Univerſity at *Piſa*, and brought thither all the moſt famous men then in *Italy*: He built a Monaſtery near to *Florence* for Father *Moriano* of *Chinazano* of the Order of St. *Auſtin*, becauſe he was a moſt excellent Preacher. He was highly beloved both by God and Fortune, which made all his undertakings ſucceſsful, and his Enemies unhappy, for beſides the *Pazzi*, *Battiſta Freſcobaldo* in *Carmine* and *Baldinotto* of *Piſtoia* in his *Villa* or Country Houſe, attempted to murder him; but all of them with their Accomplices ſuffered deſerved puniſhment. This Magnificence, this Prudence and Fortune was with wonder known, eſteemed and valued not only by all *Italy*, but by far diſtant Princes. *Matthew* King of *Hungary* gave many Teſtimonies of the love he bore him; the *Soldan* ſent him Ambaſſadours and Preſents; the Great Turk delivered up to him *Ber-*

nardo

nardo Bandini the Murderer of his Brother, all which made him the admiration of all *Italy*, and his Reputation every day with his Prudence increaſed; for he was eloquent and witty in Diſcourſe, diſcreet in Reſolution, and quick and couragious in Execution. Nor was he blemiſhed with any Vice to taint ſo many Virtues, ſave that he was ſomewhat addicted to Venery, loved witty and ſharp jeſting, and delighted in childiſh ſports, more than became a man of his Gravity; for he would often play with his Children, and make himſelf one amongſt them; ſo that to conſider this toying and gravity, there ſeemed to be in him two ſeveral Perſons conjoyned by impoſſible Ligaments. His latter dayes were full of trouble, occaſioned by the diſtempers wherewith he was grievouſly afflicted, for he was troubled with moſt intollerable pains in his Stomach, which ſo tormented him, that in *April* 1492. he died in the forty fourth year of his Age: Nor ever dyed any man, not only in *Florence*, but in all *Italy*, with ſuch Reputation for Prudence, nor ſo much lamented by his Country: and ſince by his death great Ruins were to enſue, ſo Heaven was pleaſed to give evident ſigns of it, amongſt the reſt the higheſt Spire of the Church of *Santa Reparata* was ſtruck with Lightning, and the greateſt part of it tumbled down, to the great wonder of all men. In ſhort, all his Citizens grieved for him, and all the Princes of *Italy*, of whom

Lorenzo de Medici, his death, 1492.

whom not one but ſent his Ambaſſadour to *Florence* to condole his death; but what ſucceeded, ſhowed they had indeed ſufficient cauſe to grieve, for being deſtitute of his counſel, thoſe which remained could neither find a way to ſatisfie nor reſtrain the Ambition of *Lewis Sforza* Governor of the Duke of *Milan*: Wherefore not long after *Lorenzo*'s death, began to ſpring up thoſe wicked ſeeds which none knowing how to root out, did ruine, and yet do ruine all *Italy*.

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